

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF DELINQUENCY

Vol. III

July, 1952

No. 1

EDITORIAL

For many years the rate of adult crime and juvenile delinquency has been considerably higher in Liverpool than in most other parts of the country. Since the beginning of the last war the publication of local figures in the annual Criminal Statistics has ceased, but unpublished sources show that no substantial changes have taken place in recent times. It is only natural, therefore, that the Liverpool crime problem should have aroused the special interest of social scientists working in the city, and within the past fifteen years several small but useful studies have been produced on the subject. In the article published in this issue Mr. Mays, whose work as the Warden of the University Settlement brings him into close contact with the phenomenon, has made a further valuable contribution to our understanding of the sociological and psychological aspects involved. The group factor, to which special attention was drawn in one of our first numbers (October, 1950), once more emerges as one of the most powerful elements and it helps to explain why the post-war improvement in the economic position of the Liverpool working classes has failed to effect a marked decline in the delinquency rate. It has to be borne in mind, of course, that Mr. Mays' survey does not include the hard core of persistent offenders in whom personality factors are likely to be of greater importance than traditional patterns of group behaviour.

There are, however, many more lessons to be learnt from this survey: the enormous rate of undiscovered delinquency; the urgent need to provide more constructive leisure activities and opportunities for young people to distinguish themselves in games less harmful than crime; the growing conviction that too many minor offenders are brought before the Juvenile Courts who might better be dealt with by other agencies.

The whole subject of delinquency prevention which looms so large behind Mr. Mays' cases is in urgent need of further systematic study, if

only to take stock of existing local schemes some of which, though successful, may have remained unknown outside their own limited field of application.

* * *

The growth of group method to supplement individual therapy is one of the most significant developments of recent years. The application of group therapy to juvenile delinquents seems rational enough in view of the social forces which operate in the production and establishment of anti-social and asocial trends. To throw together young persons in a group situation should *prima facie* cast some light on social attitudes and their distortions. We already know that friendliness, leadership, and disruptive trends can all be studied in a group setting; inasmuch as many delinquents are solitary, loveless and suspicious, the working together in groups with an observant, permissive and helpful physician, should not only eliminate the undesirable trends but also inculcate the more sociable and co-operative qualities which are inherent in the libidinal as against the aggressive impulses.

Dr. Sohn's article describes an attempt made with some measure of success to use a group for therapeutic ends. A number of issues, however, must be brought to the forefront before the technique can be wholeheartedly endorsed. To what extent is such therapy in accord with analytic concepts and techniques? How are tensions resolved; in what manner does transference as a bridge to recovery carry the weight of the contending interpersonal forces; what is the meaning if any of intra-group transference; and how does the problem emerge in the group and receive its resolution? Is the dynamic situation a shift from personal to interpersonal? Is there a danger that with aggressive delinquents the group situation is little more than an acting out? Whilst many analysts have been caught up in this new technique, analysts in general are suspicious lest more is lost than gained in the process.

Theory apart, much can be gained by exploring new avenues of observation and treatment. That new social forces exist when individuals are brought together must be considered as possible. The procedure ought therefore to be regarded as a line of research into the series—aggregation—group relation—community interplay. If the need of delinquents is not only to resolve deep conflicts but to mature social attitudes and develop co-operative happiness, then the technique promises to shed further light on a dimension which has hitherto not been subject to scientific assessment.

* * *

Among the many problems that confront the criminologist perhaps the most urgent is that of the sexual offender. From almost every point of view,

the subject is beset with confusion, which is further confounded by the deep moral prejudice aroused in otherwise reasonable people by any consideration of sexual subjects. Difficult as it is to persuade those concerned with the making and administration of the law that some common forms of anti-social behaviour may be signs of mental disorder, it is still more difficult to convince them that sexual offences are not just signs of moral depravity. Even amongst trained criminologists a remarkable diversity of opinion exists regarding the nature of sexual offences; and this inevitably is reflected in their scientific work. Perhaps the best example is afforded by investigations of so-called criminal types, and of the response of the latter to various forms of disposal. Since sexual offences bulk largely in the criminal calendar, it seems reasonable enough to include a quota of sexual offenders in any case-sample examined whether of probationers or of prisoners. On the other hand to include amongst criminal types cases of homosexuality whose cultural, ethical and social standards are often well above those of the average law-abiding citizen is to reduce criminal typology to nonsense.

Some of these difficulties will no doubt be overcome when statisticians take into account the variety of offence committed, a precaution which has been somewhat conspicuously neglected by many reputable observers, psychiatrists and sociologists alike. But this alone will not solve the problem of research. It is essential to distinguish not only between different types of offence, but also between different varieties of the same offence. In this respect the socio-legal diagnosis (or charge) on which criminal records are based, is singularly uninformative. While the technique of theft, for example, may justify the inclusion of all cases of theft in one large group, such mass-procedure ignores the fact that stealing may have an entirely different significance in psychopathic, psychotic, psycho-neurotic and other types of disorder, not excluding pubertal stress.

Research on these matters calls for further effort on the part of the individual psychologist or psychiatrist. Grateful as we must always be to those pioneers in sexology who first uncovered the tap-roots of sexual disorder, we must nevertheless insist that their successors should provide more detailed studies not only of the main groups of sexual offence but of the characteristic variations existing within any one group. A case in point is raised in Dr. Maclay's paper published in this issue. It is customary to regard exhibitionism either as an independent form of sexual aberration, or, since the work of the psycho-analysts, as being at the same time a remainder and surrogate of a polymorphous infantile sexuality. Dr. Maclay enters a modest plea for the recognition of a number of sub-groups of exhibitionism, one of which he describes as a simple retardation of the normal adult heterosexual impulse.

Now although the psycho-analyst maintains that most sexual aberrations are defensive regressions from adult sexuality, he is bound to admit that the depth of the regression varies in accordance with the level of development at which the child first experienced, even if only unconsciously, the anxieties of genital sexuality. And in fact, just as we may arrange the classical mental disorders in a developmental series, e.g. psychoses, neuroses, inhibitions, etc., so the sexual perversions can be arranged in accordance with their depth. Active homosexuality, for example, is by far the most advanced and organized of the sexual aberrations. Exhibitionism on the other hand may draw force from any of the early stages of development, and for this very reason it is essential to establish different grades and conditions of the disorder. Mild forms of exhibitionism are probably of the same developmental level as mild hysterias or mild impotence; whereas the exhibitionism of the psychopath is of a deeper and more intractable nature, or, to use the technical term, is more narcissistic.

All this has a very obvious bearing not only on the individual treatment of exhibitionism but on the socio-legal aspects of the problem. Even if we exclude the possibility that, except in the case of exposure before minors, society adopts an unnecessarily prudish reaction to the offence, and thereby in many cases incites the exhibitionist to activity, it is essential that the disposal of the convicted offender should in every case begin with a psychiatric approach. Society is entitled to lay down laws of common decency and to mark its disapproval of infringement of these laws; it must recognize, however, that penal methods are not an appropriate first resource either in the treatment or in the prevention of sexual disorder.

But in the last resort and after the psychologist, the sociologist and the forensic expert have all had their say, it is to the anthropologist that we must turn for guidance in the handling of sexual problems. Not only can he trace the history of sexual prejudice to its beginnings in the earliest known periods of human development, but, from his study of the sexual controls and methods of sexual upbringing practised in uncontaminated primitive cultures, he can indicate in which respects modern societies seem to have gone astray in their attempts to control the sexual instincts. No doubt much anthropological investigation is undisciplined and often speculative; yet it seems clear from observation of primitive sexual mores that the massive control of infantile sexuality generally applied in sophisticated cultures was a step in the wrong direction. Confirmation of this assumption is not hard to obtain from the records of Child Guidance Clinics in modern cities. It remains to be seen whether our publicist will have the moral courage to draw and give effect to the logical conclusion.

A STUDY OF A DELINQUENT COMMUNITY

By JOHN BARRON MAYS (LIVERPOOL)

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The area selected for the research lies along the south end docks of Liverpool, forming a compact though heterogeneous zone of about 10,000 people. Physical deterioration is almost everywhere apparent, together with other characteristics of interstitial areas as observed by Shaw and McKay (1942) in their study of urban areas in the United States. Rehousing has been confined to the erection of massive blocks of flats; there are still many families living in overcrowded conditions in obsolete houses. The population is racially mixed and cosmopolitan. Chinese and Negro minorities live side by side with white families; and there has been considerable inter-marriage. Racial diversity is further complicated by religious division; the cleavage between Roman Catholics and Protestants has a long and troubled history whose effects are still observable. Employment within the area is largely confined to seafaring and dock labour and there is a long record of casual employment and lack of skill which have added to the general instability which characterizes the neighbourhood.

This study is concerned with boys who are or were members of a Settlement Club. Out of a total membership of some 200 between the ages of twelve and twenty-two, sixty-two have so far been interviewed in an attempt to discover their knowledge of, and their degree of participation in, anti-social activities. Findings, though statistically valid for the club group, are not necessarily valid for the area as a whole. There is, however, a strong presumption that the sample will not be below the average in regard to social adjustment.

The boys already interviewed came from seven local schools, three of which are Roman Catholic, one Anglican and three under the control of the Local Authority. Thirty boys were R.C.'s, thirty Protestants and two fell within both categories as a result of mixed marriages. Only 10 per cent. of the Protestants still attend any form of worship. A little over 86 per cent. of the R.C.'s go to Mass each Sunday; 6.6 per cent. of the R.C.'s no longer attend Mass and of the remainder there is no information.

The study has been carried out by personal interview. Attempts were made to build up mutual confidence and to interest the boys in the social importance of the investigation. Boys who had known the interviewer for several years were usually most co-operative and supplied valuable information. Younger boys were found to be less forthcoming and in some cases resistances were encountered and probably some information was withheld.

Frankness on both sides was considered vitally important in removing feelings of guilt or unnecessary shame.

The general working hypothesis is that the rate of delinquent behaviour in such an area is very high and that delinquency is an accepted part of the pattern of juvenile conduct handed down by tradition and maintained by the familiar system of gang allegiance. The fact that few fall foul of the law more than once or twice shows that resistance is built up against harmful influences and that methods of treatment like probation and social disapproval are generally effective. Only one of the boys interviewed was subsequently committed to an Approved School. Such delinquency could very well be classified as 'environmental'. Children whose delinquency is the result of mental abnormality are clearly within another category and require individual psychological treatment.

This broad division between environmental delinquents and chronic offenders has considerable empirical value. Clearly the two groups overlap and disharmony in the parent-child relationship and environmental infection will occur in both groups.

Juvenile delinquency as revealed in this study is almost always a group activity; it is very rare to find that a boy has committed an offence alone or with only one companion. It would appear that in urban areas where the home-situation is disturbed or emotional relationships strained, children tend to succumb to an environment which has a traditional bias towards anti-social behaviour and seek to resolve their problems of adjustment by joining in group activities of a delinquent character. Where the family relationships are not exceptionally bad the extent of delinquent activity needed for adjustment is so limited that children after a time succeed in conforming to standards of normal social behaviour. The process of maturation brings an increasing sense of responsibility and a fear of ultimate consequences. Society within itself offers outlets for activity comparable to those offered by the delinquent group. Such opportunities for healthy adjustment already exist within social institutions (schools, clubs and churches) and the task of therapy is partly to promote such institutions and enrich their influence through the premium of social prestige.

It would be unwise to dismiss the consideration of environmental delinquency as unimportant. It might even be argued that short-term delinquency of this kind is more serious than the comparatively rare cases of chronic breakdown. The attrition of ethical standards and the general deterioration of social attitudes may have more far-reaching consequences than the occasional dramatic descent of one individual into confirmed criminality.

Before comprehensive schemes for the prevention of delinquency can

be worked out it is necessary to make an intensive study of the way children in criminogenic areas grow up, of their attitudes to life, ethics, relationships, needs, problems and frustrations. We must discover what forces make for social health so that the law may be altered accordingly and institutions and services re-moulded to that end. Despite the extension of educational and recreative social services the cold fact remains that the number of children charged each year in juvenile courts remains more or less the same.

RESULTS OF THE ENQUIRY

The great majority of boys interviewed admitted committing delinquent acts at some time or another during childhood and adolescence. A delinquent act for this purpose was defined as any act which under present law would bring a child or young person to court on charges other than being in need of care and protection. Twenty-six were already found guilty on one or more occasions, constituting 41·9 per cent. of the group under review. The maximum number of convictions of any one boy was three and the average was one. There were twenty-three cases of larceny, seven cases of breaking and entering, three cases of wilful damage to property, two cases of receiving stolen goods, two railway offences and three cases of merely technical delinquency. These figures show that the majority of the offences were of a fairly serious nature. Their pattern corresponds with that revealed in the Chief Constable of Liverpool's figures for the year 1950, in which larceny accounted for 1,183 convictions out of a total of 2,054, breaking and entering 735 and wilful damage 130.

A further twenty boys who had never appeared in court admitted guilt on a variety of occasions and at widely differing ages. This group constituted a further 32·2 per cent. of the whole, so that in all forty-six (74·1 per cent.) admitted delinquency mainly of an indictable character. A further ten owned up to lorry-skipping along the docks. In some instances this implied theft of goods in the process. The addition of half this group would bring the total delinquency for the group as a whole up to a little over 82 per cent., and it is reasonable to suppose that this enormous percentage might at some time or another have been hauled before the magistrates. It is more than likely, too, that some of the 18 per cent. who denied any delinquent activity were lying. It was not possible to establish a good relationship with some of the boys interviewed and in several cases strong resistances were encountered.

It is not to be assumed on the basis of this brief investigation that delinquency even within this particular area is widespread and universal. One important fact, however, does emerge: that in neighbourhoods such as the one under review most boys at one time or another are open to strong delinquent infection and the majority for a shorter or longer period manifest

active symptoms. Such behaviour would appear to be an integral part of the pattern to which boys in the area conform. It is essentially conformity to the group. Only three boys stated that they had committed their offences alone. The group, therefore, would seem to supply both suggestion and solidarity and a measure of corporate feeling over-riding the restraints and scruples of individual conscience in ways that Thrasher (1927) has already outlined. It is important to realize that youngsters engaged in the process of social adjustment must have the security of friendship and a small, face-to-face circle within which they can operate significantly. The comrades of the gang are usually their contemporaries or immediate elders, young enough to stand out in clear distinction against the often hostile world of adults. The gang comprises a boy's real social world and it is within the gang that he endeavours to achieve status and prestige. The tradition of the neighbourhood will to a large extent determine the content of the group's activities and it must not be assumed that all their activities are undesirable or necessarily illegal. The process is self-perpetuating as younger boys are fed into the gang and quickly pick up its ethos and respond to its stimulations. Excitation is mutual and together members of the group will perform acts they could not dare on their own. The amount of planning varies. One boy said, speaking of shop-lifting parties going down town on Saturday mornings: 'You always knew the night before where you were going'. The same boy described how his gang set about breaking into a grocer's shop. They watched it carefully for several days to discover the best way of getting in and to see if it was occupied after closing time. They then waited for a moonless night and gained access by a back window, leaving 'dowses' back and front to warn of approaching danger. While the raid was on it was very thrilling but it was best of all when 'you knew you had got clean away and were walking up the street'. On another occasion the same gang were idling about when one of them had a sudden idea to break into an empty building. This was a 'spur of the moment' job.

Another boy mentioned a 'tenement gang' to which he had belonged. Several of their exploits were planned in advance and in his own words 'We put our heads together in the Dwellings'. He described how one daring boy would incite the others to take risks. He once saw this boy coolly remove a chemistry set from a shop counter, place the bulky box under his coat and walk out. He agreed that Saturday mornings when schools were closed were popular times for shop-lifting down town.

During these discussions feelings of guilt were remarkably absent. Stealing was something that every lad did, part of life as they had known it. It was stupid and often risky. At the time, as one boy said, 'it made you

sweat', but it may well be that such sensations were in themselves pleasurable. There does, in fact, appear to be an element of sport in some delinquency. 'You used to enjoy yourself', one boy said, and the business of matching his skill against the shop-assistant's clearly carried with it a desirable thrill and sense of satisfaction. There is further an element of bravado and showing-off. A lad of twenty-one recalled how he and his friends had broken into one shop in the district with the sole idea of being able to say to other gangs that they were the first to get into 'So-and-So's'. Once committed to such activities, he added, they had to keep going in order to prove they were not cowards.

Delinquency in most cases is seen to be a product of group life. Very few boys pursue individual activities and private hobbies. Leisure is plentiful and spent mostly in the streets. Home life makes few claims and the average family does not live a closely-knit, corporate life. There has grown up a rigid convention in regard to family relationships. Boys said they would go out with their fathers only in certain circumstances, if, for example, the father was going to a first-class football match. They would not go with father to the cinema. One could go to the cinema with mother while fairly young, but once puberty was passed one went always 'with the lads'. Thereafter to be seen in the company of parents is regarded as 'cissy'. It is not because boys reject their parents, it is merely that *being seen* makes them self-conscious. By the time they have left school boys tend to do everything 'with the lads'. Group activity outside the family is the rule and only exceptional boys stay at home or share their parents' recreations. Mental horizons are very limited. The educational background is not rich, and physical and economic conditions are such that the choice of activities is narrow. There are, on the one hand, sports and games and membership of a youth club; and, on the other, proscribed activities such as lorry-skipping, breaking into property, throwing stones or just 'kicking the can around'. When money is available at weekends the boredom is relieved by visits to cinemas and milk bars and, for the older adolescents, public houses and dance halls. From time to time there is the added excitement of a bet with a street bookie or a share in a few lines of a football pool. Such is the invariable content of juvenile group life. But the group has its compensations and makes up in some respects for the inadequacy of home life. There is an incalculable emotional relationship between the gang member and the gang leader, who is an admired and respected figure. The effort to merit his respect and earn his closer friendship assists the boy to look beyond the familial circle and to find significant relationships in the wider society with which he must, if he is to grow up and develop, become increasingly involved. Any remedial treatment that is to be success-

ful with the large numbers of partially dissocial children who form the majority of the main delinquent group must take account of these spontaneous loyalties and affiliations and devise ways of directing them towards socially desirable goals.

Few of the youngsters interviewed are likely to develop into confirmed adult criminals and their delinquency may be regarded as a phase, albeit dangerous, of normal development. Early in adolescence ethical considerations and the process of maturation bring their delinquent activities within narrower and narrower bounds. It is this that distinguishes the 'normal' from the 'abnormal' delinquent: the boy whose delinquency arises from environmental factors and social infection, and the boy whose delinquency is the product of intolerable emotional strain. Therapy for the majority will have to be confined to preventive social measures that will harness the dynamic forces already available in group life to acceptable objectives and develop those primitive ethical scruples which are already in being within such group relationships.

Discussion with young people suggests that there are two factors contributing to a maturing ethical awareness which interweave and reinforce each other. They are the ability to appreciate possibly unpleasant consequences of delinquency and a deepening of sympathy for those injured by it. This appreciation of consequences appears to increase in the teens as part of the normal process of psychological maturation or, in Freudian terms, of a more successful adaption to the 'Reality Principle'. The relationship between delinquency and immaturity has been cogently stressed by Roper (1951) and others. Many of the boys interviewed stated that they began to see the folly of their bad behaviour and, if they did not repent in a moral sense, at least acquired sufficient self-control to refrain from certain delinquent activities. A few returned to larceny in later adolescence under particular environmental conditions which will be discussed later, but there would appear to be a falling away from crime after the thirteenth or fourteenth birthday. One boy said he gave up theft because, if he had been found out, it would have grieved his mother, and he added the interesting point that he 'wouldn't think twice about stealing from a large store because they rob you with their fantastic prices'. Many agreed that to steal from a big shop was all right because a vast commercial firm would not feel such a trifling loss. It was not the same as taking things off the shop assistants themselves. One boy who said he made no distinction between large or small firms acknowledged scruples in regard to 'old people'. He would, moreover, never steal a present to give to his own mother. Anything he gave her had to be come by honestly but presents for his other relatives and friends could be stolen.

Some boys felt shame at stealing from local shops, possibly because they had some personal knowledge of owners or employees. It was generally accepted that it is proper to steal from employers. Everyone did, including older work-mates, and in most cases there did not seem to be any bond of loyalty between management and staff. But robbery from one's own friends or club associates was abhorrent. Only one boy admitted doing this during a spell of unpopularity and even then pleaded the extenuating circumstances that he knew that the goods had been stolen first from shops. A boy whose record was as bad as any in the group was genuinely shocked at the suggestion that he could possibly have stolen anything from his own home!

It appears that larceny is usually confined to firms, organizations and groups with whom delinquents have no personal relationship. The closer a boy is to a group the less is he likely to steal from them. With strangers moral inhibitions are weaker than with friends and relatives. Strangers are, therefore, natural victims. Such are the primitive ethics of shoplifting!

Mention has been made of the 'sporting' aspect of certain delinquencies, but there is also the economic motive to take into account. Pocket money is often quite inadequate. Some boys have no fixed amount and very few have an excess of spending money. Shop-lifting offers an additional source of income. Stolen property can be sold and the proceeds used to pay for coveted luxuries. One boy of fifteen and a half admitted he had no qualms in buying stolen goods from a notorious companion because the bargains he offered were irresistible. He wanted something he could not afford to buy and when a chance like that offered itself only a fool would let it go.

It is apparently particularly tempting for boys on holiday either to buy stolen goods or to shop-lift themselves. Being away from home in a strange environment 'it feels safer'. 'You don't feel so frightened when you're away'; and in some rural districts 'it's so easy and the people don't suspect you'. Even those boys who have never shop-lifted in the city admit doing so when away from home. The feeling of shame at being less prosperous than other lads can drive them beyond control, and there have been many instances of wholesale raids upon shopping centres in the vicinity of holiday homes and camps. The family expect a boy to bring home a present for each member of the household and the larger the family the greater the outlay. Presents also have prestige value; they must be 'decent', not 'any old thing'. No boy dare go back home empty-handed and, if pocket money has run out by the end of the week, the temptation to steal is hard to resist. Theft in such circumstances has the sanction of the whole group and detection brings no opprobrium.

On the other hand, breaking and entering is regarded as being in a different

category. Boys will brag of their shop-lifting exploits but keep more serious crimes to themselves. Gangs of breakers-and-enterers are usually avoided and the motive for such avoidance is more a fear of involvement than social disapproval. The high degree of premeditation behind breaking and entering jobs in contrast to the often impulsive daring of shop-lifting and petty thieving prevents a number of boys from committing that offence. Some, however, are unlucky enough to become involved at an age when they are too young to appreciate the gravity of the act. One boy described how, when he was only seven, a gang of older lads lowered him through a small window and got him to open the door of the shop they were breaking into. Not surprisingly a few years later he tried his hand at the same thing. Yet despite the potency of suggestion and infection most youngsters have built up resistances to the more serious type of crime. Larceny, lorry-skipping, destructiveness and 'bunking-in' (*i.e.* devices for gaining admission to cinemas without paying), all have, at some stage of development, the approval and sanction of the group. Such acts supply many real needs—opportunity for adventure and a display of skill and courage, a chance to win the praise and affection of contemporaries and to experience the warm reassurance of group solidarity—needs which are not being met in other ways. Individuals differ in the degree of satisfaction derived from participation in delinquent activities; and motivation, as Burt (1925) pointed out, is multiple. It is in the inter-action of environmental stimulation and the varying degrees of personal frustration and deprivation that any given child's delinquency is to be understood. In some cases individual treatment is necessary and in other cases it would seem to be the group that demands remedial attention. In the past, as Shaw and McKay pointed out in 1942, 'our attention has been focussed too much upon the individual delinquent and not enough upon the setting in which the delinquency arises'.

SOME CASE RECORDS

The excerpts from case records which follow may help to illuminate some of 'those aspects of community life which provide the appropriate setting for delinquency careers and which give to these careers the sanction and approbation on which all social behaviour depends'.

A. He was a good boy to interview and took up my points intelligently. He is fifteen and has just obtained his first job for himself with a local firm of canvas makers. The father is a docker but A. does not want to follow him. At school the headmaster wanted him to take a scholarship but he refused. He did not wish to be different from his companions. The home is in a poor quarter and the house very old. The family is on the list for new accommodation but A. is emphatic that he does not want to leave the neighbourhood where he has many friends. . . . Each year the family do some decorating and A. helps in this with the other

children. He still runs a few errands for his mother. . . . He seems anxious to grow up. Relations inside the home are good and very affectionate, and the father takes an interest in his son's activities. A. has made some fine pieces of furniture for the home at the club woodwork shop. He would no longer go out with his father except to attend the big football matches. He used to go to the pictures with his mother but stopped this at about thirteen. Since then he has always gone with 'the lads'. To be seen out with mother or father is a sort of social disgrace. He seems to get on easily with his three sisters and younger brother. He went to a council school till he was fifteen and he liked school and took part in its athletic activities. He is a fine swimmer and a careful craftsman, showing a high degree of patience over his work. His club membership covers three years. . . . Church attendance stopped at about thirteen without any parental objection. He is the offspring of a 'mixed' marriage and it seems that the parents do not keep up their own observances. . . . He seems deliberately to strive to conform to the standards of his own social group. All his friends went to the same school and live in close proximity. . . . He has a fair knowledge of street betting and used to patronize a street bookie even as a schoolboy. . . . He has never been in court but might well have been. His delinquencies are typical of the neighbourhood pattern, stealing fruit from shops on the way to school, taking part in shop-lifting expeditions with other boys down town. He described how parties used to set off on Saturday mornings with the set intention of theft, carrying with them a supply of paper bags in which to wrap up stolen goods. The shop-lifting was worked out on a team basis with the usual 'dowse' and attention-engagers posted. He would not think twice about stealing from a large store. . . . Gradually he broke away from these habits, fear of detection and of his mother's grief acting as deterrents. When younger he did a lot of lorry-skipping but never stole anything as he felt sorry for the driver who would be held responsible. He did not experience similar feelings of sympathy for shop-assistants and did not think they would have to make good their losses. . . .

B. Age eighteen. Club membership over four years. He had been a most active and popular member, earning captaincies and other distinctions. Employed as a junior clerk, he left elementary school at fourteen and has held the one job ever since. . . . He was happy at school but had no wish to hold monitorial authority because that would have implied being a 'teacher's pet' and behaving differently from the other boys. When younger he played cards often for money and put bets on horses regularly. . . . The home is 'broken' by the death of the father, who appears to have been no asset to the family. They have passed through difficult times and there is real affection for the mother. He has never avoided the company of delinquents; his own brother has been in court. He himself took part in shop-lifting but was never caught. Expeditions were arranged after school hours and on Saturday mornings. This was clearly a group activity. Certain articles like diaries had 'a fatal fascination' for him at that time. Such thefts were not due to lack of money. When he was sixteen he made up his mind not to shop-lift any more but he nearly fell from grace when away at camp. He thought boys seldom stole from one another or in the club. He made no distinction between large stores and one-man shops but he had drawn the line at stealing from old people. Also, he would never steal a present to give his own mother. Having to take presents home from holidays was the reason why

boys stole at camp. It was the 'done thing' to bring back presents for all one's in-laws.

C. He has just completed a period of National Service. Family relationships are good; they have recently removed to a better neighbourhood. . . . In the Services theft was fairly common, particularly at first before the men got to know one another and were posted to a unit. As time went on comradeship increased and it became possible to leave personal property lying about in one's own billet. If things did go then it was assumed that someone must have come in from outside. In the 'teens he was a member of an active street football team. They clubbed up to buy balls, purchased their own kit and arranged all their own fixtures. There was a kind of unofficial league made up of other street teams. He had not been to court but that was largely a matter of good luck. He did some shop-lifting, which as far as he remembered was usually at weekends. At the age of twelve he recalled breaking into an empty shop with his pals. This was largely done for the sake of the adventure and nothing was stolen. He used also to indulge in what was known as 'bunking-in'. Sometimes they used a metal bar to force the doors of the cinema exits. They had one very successful run that lasted for months on end. . . . He is convinced that the desire to show-off in front of friends is a main cause of delinquency. Once they started they were afraid to stop and be classed as cowards. He remembered his gang broke into one building merely to be able to brag to other gangs that they were the first ever to enter that particular building. They felt 'like explorers'. If bravado led them into delinquency the spectacle of others being caught and punished was equally deterrent. But he was convinced that showing-off was at the root of it. He thought more opportunity should be given to lads to show off through competitive sport.

D. Age nineteen. At present serving in the Army. In his experience the incidence of theft is remarkably high in the Services, worse than in civilian life. He could not leave his locker open for an instant or put anything down on his own bed for fear of losing it. N.C.O.'s gave encouragement to this by their attitude expressed in the words: 'It's your own so-and-so fault for leaving things lying around!' Since going into the Army he has learned to drink, and often does so quite heavily. Everybody drinks in the Services and if you don't you feel out of it. . . . D. had a very chequered employment career, changing his job five times before he was seventeen, but his last job seems to have been most satisfactory and he is likely to remain there all his life. The family is a small one: father, mother and two boys. Two girls are dead, killed in an air raid when D. and his elder brother were on evacuation. Their home received a direct hit. . . . They are a respectable family and the father seems interested in his sons. The elder boy is not delinquent and is much quieter and less robust physically than D. D. liked school days but he was not very good at lessons. . . . His club life was interrupted up to the age of about sixteen when he settled down successfully and became a first-rate member. He says the club saved him from idleness and bad companions and gave him an outlet for his athletic prowess. . . . He had a bad record, in many ways typical of the district. He frequently drifted into illicit activities. His first court appearance, at the age of thirteen, was for larceny. A year later he was up for the same offence and placed on probation. Again at sixteen, while an active club member, he was fined and placed on probation for the same offence. This appears to have shocked him, particularly as one of

his associates was sent to an Approved School. D. began to realize how serious things were getting and resolved to reform and threw himself vigorously into club activities. He had a high opinion of his probation officer and commended his sympathy and understanding. But for the P.O. and the club he would have grown into a complete rogue, he stated. Since coming off his second spell on probation he did not get into court again, but once or twice while away on holidays he succumbed to the temptation to shop-lift. . . . He did not as a boy either drink or smoke or gamble in any way. He was always fond of sport and games. A good-natured, easy-going type of boy who took a long time learning to adjust himself to the demands of society. He might have followed his pal to an Approved School but luckily he made the right contacts in the club and under the influence of a good P.O. developed into a fine lad.

REMEDIAL SUGGESTIONS

Most significant is the fact that the delinquency discussed in this paper is almost invariably a group activity. The content of the group's activity is as largely determined by the environment as its ethics are by social tradition. Preventive measures could very well be directed towards altering the content of the group's activities and providing substitutes which could offer equivalent satisfaction. With the type of boys under investigation it is obvious that football, for example, offers many opportunities for the exercise of skill and daring, for self-display and earning of prestige. Research carried out within the area has shown that where a number of pitches are fortuitously available boys have made extensive use of them. A high percentage of the sixty-two interviewed referred to the exploits of street teams and other spontaneous groups for whom they had played. There is no doubt that in this activity boys will take great pains to obtain the satisfaction of playing. They undertake their own organization and submit to agreed rules. Football seems to have as strong a hold upon members of juvenile gangs as have delinquent activities like shop-lifting. In planning any large-scale preventive programme attention should be paid to the provision of opportunities for inter-street football matches as delinquency-substitutes. Pitches within easy reach of the boys' homes and in sufficient quantity to absorb the many hundreds of boys eager to play should be planned and controlled by a local committee composed of local adult residents and key social workers. The local committee should think of its work in terms of facilitation, providing equipment where necessary and mediating in disputes, and not of overall planning and organization. Similar programmes could be worked out for swimming, camping and cycling, but care should be taken to retain the spontaneity of juvenile groups and to encourage the natural leaders to undertake the organization of their own activities.

There would appear to be a serious lack of ethical training in many homes. As for attendance at religious worship, there does not seem to be any difference between the conduct of boys who go regularly and those whose affiliation has lapsed. The key to more successful ethical training lies in the extension of sympathy rather than in inculcation of moral precepts. Wherever a boy is aware of personal relationship and can realize the consequences his actions may have for other people delinquent tendencies appear to become inhibited. This was seen in the case of the boy who would not steal from old people and in the case of a boy who would not steal from small, one-man shops. Within the family circle or with a group of close friends the inhibition is accordingly stronger. The same considerations hold true of life in the Forces. In the early days of his Service career, while the conscript is still a member of a miscellaneous intake, theft is rife and personal property is nowhere safe. As soon, however, as the draft is broken up into smaller units and a spirit of comradeship is built up between man and man, the incidence of theft and of suspicion is diminished.

It is easy enough to say that ethical development for juveniles involves increasing their understanding of the consequences of their actions and deepening their sympathies rather than an extension of moral exhortation. How can this be made use of in terms of practical social organization? Burt pointed out many years ago that we cannot expect those who have no experience of ownership to have much respect for the property of others. And there is a strong case for giving all children during their schooldays a chance to own their own possessions and be responsible for personal property. This is a normal state of affairs at a grammar school or at a boarding school where pupils have their own desks and lockers, their own books and instruments, their own sports kit and even their own rooms to look after, but it is not the case at primary and secondary modern schools in the urban areas from which the majority of delinquents come. A sense of ownership should be instilled as early as possible in school life and every endeavour should be made to let children see and understand the consequences of lawless activities. There is a good case for bringing the police to school to talk to children about crime, to point out what its cost is to the whole community and what it involves in suffering and unhappiness for the delinquent and for his family. This is, in fact, being done at one school in the district under review. The old attitude of fear of the policeman is rapidly breaking down. The establishment of regular school points has done much to help in this direction. At these guarded crossings children gladly accept the policeman's hand and often stop to talk to him and offer him their precious sweets. If this relationship of trust is established the appearance of a police officer in a classroom need not arouse antagonism.

It may add weight to what is said for there is always a dramatic value in bringing in an outsider to speak to children. Parents who chide their offspring with: 'Look out or the Bobby'll get you', are making use of the fact in the worst possible way.

Much of the weakness of our counter-delinquency measures is due to their lack of co-ordination and a failure of co-operation between individual workers and the various social agencies dealing with children. There is too often hostility, suspicion, mistrust, jealousy and misunderstanding which need breaking down before any large scale preventive programme can be put into action. Some school teachers regard a visit from a police officer as interference. There are probation officers who fail to contact teachers and leaders of youth organizations and there are club leaders who are over-selective in their methods of recruitment. All these workers must be brought together to discuss their differences of emphasis and to work out a common policy in regard to delinquency and children's problems generally. Such conferences, which could be easily arranged on a district level, would help to dissolve the distrust that arises from misunderstanding and to lay the foundations for essential co-operation. One or two examples must suffice to illustrate how such district conferences might co-ordinate the work of constituent members. It is clear from what boys have said in interviews that there are periods of exceptional danger. One such time is Saturday morning when schools are closed and children are free to roam the city streets and markets. It should not be beyond the combined powers of all the teachers and social workers of a given neighbourhood to devise a scheme of recreation, sport and hobbies which would occupy children's, and particularly the boys', time during such known danger periods. In such circumstances the club leader who opened his premises on a Saturday morning or the school teacher who organized inter-class football matches or the voluntary social worker who supervised the local playground or who went to the baths to teach youngsters to swim, would no longer suffer from a sense of helpless isolation. Each would be heartened by the knowledge that he was firmly occupying a small sector of an entire front line. He would realize the contribution his own efforts were making to a wider neighbourhood movement and find inspiration in the knowledge that he was a member of a team carrying out a concerted programme.

A second way in which co-operation could be valuable is in the treatment of petty offenders and near and early delinquents. There are sound psychological grounds against bringing a child to court for minor offences, but it is equally important that offences should not be overlooked or condoned. In the case histories outlined earlier it will be seen that many boys break the law on a number of occasions without being found out and that they

do not necessarily develop into persistent offenders. While a court appearance might engender only a contempt for the law or drive a boy to commit offences recklessly, sound treatment in the early stages with the threat of prosecution in the background might prove a sufficient deterrent. To achieve this end there would need to be very close co-operation between school teachers, club leaders and police officials and also with the parents of the child himself. It is well known that at many grammar schools and public schools a delinquent pupil is dealt with by teacher and parent together, at least in the initial stages of lawlessness. There is no reason why such a method should not be tried out in poorer districts instead of having a child hauled before the magistrates for offences that any boy from any social group might commit. In treating petty offences like rowdiness, minor damage, playing games in the street, riding a cycle without a lamp, etc., at court level it would seem that society is creating false problems which could more helpfully be tackled by other means. Most parents would probably prefer their child to be dealt with by the head teacher and a police officer seconded for juvenile work rather than by a bench of unknown magistrates. Parents would be consulted at every point and made active participators in treatment. At the same time their own obligations and responsibilities could be brought home to them forcefully. They would share and receive advice as equals and have the right to disagree and, if they wished, to bring the child to court. Such a system might be described as a form of probation before conviction, an attempt on the part of a team of interested social workers in conjunction with parents to prevent a child committing further delinquent acts and thereby suffering the lasting taint of having a court conviction brought against him. This seems a much sounder method for treating first offenders and early delinquents than fining or discharging with a caution as so often happens in the juvenile courts to-day. Through the local conference it would be possible to bring boys into touch with youth organizations and, equally important, to check up on the use a boy is making of his leisure and on the friendships he is forming. Such a system might cut down the present delinquency rates by a substantial percentage and, at the same time, provide a surer method of guarding against further misdemeanours. It would further be valuable in that it would allow the juvenile courts time to concentrate on persistent law-breakers and recidivists with whom they should, in fact, be principally concerned. Mannheim (1948) in his 'Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown', argued the case for such local committees with cogency. 'The tasks of the Juvenile Court Magistrates and, in particular, Probation Officers, have grown much too vast and complex to be solved by them single-handed; and unless they enjoy the unstinted and continuous support of all sections of the community and of all competent public and private bodies, they are doomed to failure.'

To the best of our knowledge such local committees have not been set up in this country. Neumeyer (1949) pointed out that 'The community contains to a remarkable degree the essentials of life, for it includes families, social institutions, various primary groups, and social classes' which not only carry on the basic activities of society but could also be used therapeutically. Local conferences are one obvious way of linking the anti-delinquency campaign to the health-promoting groups and institutions that are already to hand in the community itself. They would be dynamic and would offer young people a way of life that might prove more compelling and attractive than delinquent activities have done in the past. An experiment along these lines might very well be made in districts where there is already a Community Centre or a Settlement in existence to provide the necessary focal point, leadership and inspiration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAGOT, J. H. (1941). 'Juvenile Delinquency.' London: Jonathan Cape and University of Liverpool School of Social Science. Pp. 93.
- BOWLBY, JOHN (1946). 'Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves.' London: Bailliere, Tindall & Cox. Pp. 56.
- BURT, CYRIL (1925). 'The Young Delinquent.' London: University of London Press. Pp. xx, 643.
- CARR-SAUNDERS, A. M., MANNHEIM, H. and RHODES, H. C. (1942). 'Young Offenders.' Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. x, 168.
- FRIEDLANDER, KATE (1947). 'The Psycho-Analytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency.' London: Kegan Paul. Pp. vii, 296.
- GLUECK, SHELDON and ELEANOR (1934). 'One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents.' Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. xxix, 341.
- GLUECK, SHELDON and ELEANOR (1950). 'Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency.' New York: The Commonwealth Fund. Pp. xv, 399.
- HEALY, W. and BRONNER, A. (1936). 'New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment.' New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. vii, 226.
- JONES, A. E. (1945). 'Juvenile Delinquency and the Law.' Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. 176.
- MANNHEIM, HERMANN (1948). 'Juvenile Delinquency in an English Middletown.' London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. Pp. xi, 131.
- NEUMEYER, M. H. (1949). 'Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society.' Toronto, New York, London: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc. Pp. x, 335.
- RECKLESS, W. C., and SMITH, M. (1932). 'Juvenile Delinquency.' New York: McGraw Hill. Pp. viii, 412.
- ROPER, W. F. (1951). 'Comparative Survey of the Wakefield Prison Population in 1948 and 1949, Part II', *Brit. J. Delinq.*, 1, 243-70.
- SHAW, C. R. and MCKAY, H. D. (1942). 'Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas.' Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. xxxii, 451.
- STOTT, D. H. (1950). 'Delinquency and Human Nature.' Dunfermline: Carnegie U.K. Trust. Pp. viii, 460.
- THRASHER, F. M. (1927). 'The Gang.' Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. xix, 605.
- WHYTE, W. F. (1943). 'Street Corner Society.' Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. xxii, 284.
- YOUNG, P. V. (1937). 'Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency.' New York: McGraw Hill. Pp. 516.

GROUP THERAPY FOR YOUNG DELINQUENTS¹

By LESLIE SOHN (LONDON)

GROUP INFLUENCES

Group psychotherapy, that is to say the conscious and deliberate use of group influence in the treatment of mental disorder has only recently been applied to young delinquents; its use as a general therapeutic method dates back only some forty-five years. The first recorded reference to the visible improvement of patients under positive group influences, as contrasted with patients under the same régime but without the group influences—*i.e.* patients in a large ward contrasted with patients of similar type, but probably more opulent, treated in private rooms—appeared in 1904 in Camus and Pogniez's 'Isolement et Psychothérapie'. The existence of a reciprocal influence between the group as a whole and the individual patient was not recognized.

The first conscious and directed use of the principles of group psychotherapy was, however, made in the treatment of tuberculous patients. A group meeting in Boston, under Dr. J. H. Pratt, were given instructions in personal hygiene and their records were checked. They enjoyed the social stimulus of such meetings and felt encouraged; so that Pratt extended the method to include patients with other chronic diseases. Emerson, in 1908, started similar class meetings for groups of badly under-fed children in Boston, and enlisted the aid of social workers to enquire into the home background of these under-privileged children. The classes involved 'talks' and instruction about hygiene, diet and food values. The children were supplied with a competitive motive for gaining weight; they were seated in the class-room according to the amount of weight they had gained. A game was thus made out of the weight problem, in which each child had a stake, and the results achieved helped to remove phobias and anxieties about food and weight-gaining systems.

Following Emerson's good results, classes were organized for diabetics, cardiac cases, patients in need of corrective exercise, and others. Buck reported on his good results in the treatment of a group of patients with essential hypertension, and reports followed of treatment of groups of patients with peptic ulcers. In 1911 in Vienna, Dr. Moreno began working with children by his method of psychodrama, in which the children were

¹ I wish to thank Dr. K. Cameron, Physician-in-Charge, Children's Department, Maudsley Hospital, for his help and encouragement in connection with this work and for permission to publish this paper; also the Psychiatric Social Work Department for their assistance with the parents and the later follow-up.

encouraged to act and play out their fantasies, which were normally on a primitive fairy-tale level.

Dr. E. W. Lazell, at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, developed the idea of delivering a series of lectures to patients, particularly to those inaccessible to individual psychotherapy. Lazell states: 'The effect was remarkable: silent, dreamy boys suddenly became interested and drank in every word, realizing that here was someone who understood their problems—troubles they had considered peculiar to themselves. They were greatly relieved when told that all mankind has to contend with the same emotions that had broken them down.' Lazell devised a series of lectures based on psycho-analytical psychology, in language simple enough for the average patient to understand. The results were apparently gratifying.

In 1927, Trigant Burrow began to try out his new method of group psycho-analysis on himself and his associates. His therapeutic aim was to undermine the authority of artificial social demands which are foisted on the individual and which he feels obliged to accept, thereby hindering his individual adjustments.

In 1935, Slavson commenced group therapy classes with problem children in New York with a double aim—diagnosis and treatment. He admitted the non-complementary nature of such therapy but also stressed its individual and specific value. Slavson felt that the child should actually experience real situations within the group and in that way achieve a new group orientation. The children chosen were those rejected by their parents or school, also children interfered with by prolonged coddling and parental oversolicitude. The therapist kept in the background as merely a shadowy presence and only rarely tendered any interpretation, took direct part in the group activities or interfered in any way.

Autonomy within the group is the cardinal principle, a permissive atmosphere being the means to this end. Slavson's summing up is that the great use of group experience in character formation is that it modifies or eliminates egocentricity and psychological insularity. He seeks to convince the children of the genuineness of the relationship to the therapist by giving them 'unconditional love'; antisocial or asocial behaviour in the group is accepted by the therapist. If a child refuses to eat, eats with his fingers or helps himself to another child's portion, the therapist does not interfere, but works towards the eventual development of group formation which will bring about an equilibrium; each child will participate and in so doing will achieve the process of social adaptation which is in part the aim of therapy. One principle underlying this is that the child's super-ego is derived from fear of punishment or a fear of rejection—both negative values. If the therapist were to enforce restraints and prohibitions, he would immediately

be identified with the negative adults of the child's experience and so be unable to relieve the child's tensions and hostilities, which must invariably be accepted.

Whereas Slavson's group leaders take great pains to remain passive and shadowy, Redl believes that children's groups are far more tolerant of active adult leadership than is generally held, and views a purely permissive atmosphere without overt activity as potentially dangerous, once more because of the problem of the child's super-ego formation. The aim may be passivity, but this can be achieved only to the extent that the child will permit it; permissiveness may threaten super-ego formation or create anxiety and guilt feelings; and the group situation may demand not passivity but observation and reactivity if it is to be given sufficient ego support. Redl finds that interpreting some behaviour on the spot is advantageous.

DYNAMICS

As Burrow indicates, many of the disturbances seen in our patients are difficulties in adaptation to social conventions and demands. The individual psychotherapeutic setting may be regarded as an artefact in that it does not give a direct outlet to this most important part of the patient's trouble and so gives rise to resistances. This was particularly true of our delinquent patients, since they were all referred to us from the courts via the probation officers. We were automatically identified with these punishing legal figures, and this increased the hostile resistance of these disturbed children.

Group psychotherapy with such children permits the reliving of early relationship to their first significant adults, within a setting which is not felt to be so artificial as in the individual interview. It can prepare the patients for later individual psychotherapy and the transference occurring within the group can be carried over into the individual sessions. Group dynamics are more specifically adapted to 'externalized' than to 'internalized' patterns of conflict, *i.e.* those conflicts in which the struggle is played out between the person and his environment rather than those contained within the psyche. It fosters a living-out of emotional experience and tends to release tensions on a motor level.

There occurs inter-patient transference—a reliving of inter-sibling transference in the family which must reinforce transference to the therapist. This transference is real enough for my young patients to see one another outside and to refer during sessions to their extra-mural mutual activities. It breaks down the early 'psychological insularity' (*cf.* Slavson) and helps extravert the patient.

In the group a re-enactment of the family and social drama occurs; but

the patient finds himself on terms of equality with the parent-substitute (therapist) in the permissive atmosphere.

In this connection, Redl's types of therapeutic leader which he treats as analogous with types of schoolmaster are interesting. First the Patriarchal Sovereign type where the supervision is of a stern but not unfriendly nature. He stands for discipline and order, making that fact quite clear to the children. The children accept his values without question; their feelings about him are compounded of love and admiration, intermixed, however, with an anxious sense that their security is dependent on their adoption of his code.

Secondly, the Leader type—usually young, standing for work and discipline and getting this without outward pressure. He plays a dual rôle in that he is identified with the requirements of the school or organization and at the same time is aware of and sympathetic with the emotional drives of the young members; *i.e.* he represents both the group's strivings and the demands of society. If he succeeds in combining these functions, the children will feel secure and content; if not they will become anxious and frightened, either of him or of their own drives.

Here we may note that according to Klapman 'the group leader appeals to the love impulses as well as the narcissistic tendencies of the children'. The leader is put in the place of the children's ego-ideal; they wish to be like him and they become a group because they incorporate the leader's personality into their ego-structure and on that basis develop group emotions towards each other.

In Redl's opinion the greatest danger to the group emotional and therapeutic atmosphere is not the patient who creates physical disturbance, but he who tries to obtain a more intense transference from the therapist. Such a one is my patient L., of far higher I.Q. than my other boys, who attempts to deviate from the general course of conversation, and frequently informs us during the sessions of his intention to go to Cambridge to read medicine or law. All the others have strong desires to be apprenticed to various trades. Frequently he attempts to monopolize the conversation.

Redl's third type of leader is the so-called 'Tyrant'; one usually bound to apply a certain pattern of discipline to the children. There is always an imposition of some capricious 'order' or discipline; nor is this ever effected quietly. Despite it, and the expectation that there should be a healthy hatred of the teacher with a reactive refractoriness to supervision, the children submit. Here, too, there appears to be an identification with the teacher, and usually the rebel child has not only the teacher but all the other children to contend with. The children become afraid of the rebel and grow angry. In this situation, emotional relationships within the group

are less intense. Displaying little camaraderie, the boys appear to be afraid of each other, and possibly too much intra-group intimacy might endanger the repression of the hostility felt towards the leader. The identifications occurring here are based on fear, not love, incorporating the leader's super-ego because of fear of the aggressor.

Relatively easy catharsis in groups is due to the catalytic effect patients exert upon each other. They stimulate one another by removing the bars to self-revelation. At first the material is not very significant, but later more personal material is divulged in the course of general conversation. Wolf, discussing the composition of groups, expresses the opinions that schizoids are amazingly helpful as adjunct-analysts of fantasies and dreams and of the latent meaning of behaviour in the group; having access to the unconscious material comprising the world in which they live, they can often clarify material which baffles everyone else. The utilization of this factor was stressed by Rosen in his handling of schizophrenics and in his use of cured patients as nurses.

Of resistance to joining a group, I, in my limited experience, have found no evidence; my little group welcomed its inception enormously. This reaction, too, is open to interpretation. We have not yet had the experience of having a new member join the group, though we have discussed this on some few occasions at which all expressed indifference to such a possibility. This indifference would, however, appear to be a definite reaction formation, since the topic frequently recurred. Two members in particular raised the matter in individual sessions attended during the course of the group formation.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GROUP

The group was formed during November, 1950. Its formation followed a particularly slow and static situation that arose in my individual therapeutic relationship with these boys. They resented me very strongly, were intensely hostile and resistant to having to attend, regarding it as an unnecessary and unreal part of their being on probation; they were never weary of reiterating in chorus that they only saw their Probation Officer about once a month—why should they see me so often? and anyway, they weren't looney and I was just a Nosey-Parker. There was a further implication that I was a bit 'filthy and bloody-minded'.

Their sessions consisted, for the most part, of hostile silences punctuated by monosyllabic evasive replies and frequent references to the dire effect their having to attend would have on their schooling. Indeed this was the only real form of spontaneous articulation they offered. I therefore decided to suggest to them the possibility of their forming a group. I indicated the

nature of the group, stressing that it did not mean any violation of their confidences and pointing out that it lay with them to prohibit any such breach themselves. I introduced them to one another as all being under probation and asked them what they thought of the idea. The response was unanimous and we started immediately.

MEMBERS OF THE GROUP

The boys varied in age from twelve to fourteen. To start with the youngest: T.E., aged twelve, was referred to us for stealing bicycles and on charges of habitual truancy. He was brought by a paternal aunt who knew very little of his personal development. His father and mother are divorced, and since the divorce T. had been living alternately with mother and father. He resented having to stay with his mother, who it seemed almost completely rejected the boy, and the delinquencies all occurred during a more recent stay with her. The father lived some few streets away, and the boy waited breathlessly for his daily contact with him. During the previous year he had been reported to be becoming less and less interested at school, with repeated truancy; and the bicycle which he was actually caught stealing was apparently taken in order to ride to his grandfather some fifteen miles off. He is now living with an aunt. During this last year he had repeated colds and nose-bleeding, but repeated physical examination and investigation revealed nothing abnormal.

T. was the least hostile of the group. He was at the initial meeting a mildly depressed, intelligent boy, who was uninterested and dubious about our ability to help him; in his initial interviews he discussed in detail visits to the Science Museum and his desire to be a laboratory technician. He was beginning to make a good relationship and because of this was introduced into the group to encourage the development of intra-group transferences and because of his contrast with the other potential members. T. was a cherubic, ginger-haired little boy, and would be described as 'nice'. At the moment his father is living in the same house as he, with a common-law wife. T. is doing well under this arrangement.

The second case, B.H., was sent to us by the probation officer. He is twelve years and some months old, and was referred with the story of having, in company with another boy slightly older, raped a girl of eleven. B. was apparently the active raper and had stuffed the girl's mouth with grass. The other boy had apparently only played the rôle of expectant onlooker when they were interrupted. B. had never been suspected of any abnormality and showed no evident antisocial trends; although his parents gradually volunteered that he had of late become somewhat sullen. His birth and early development were apparently normal and he manifested no

difficulties in early adaptation at school or at home. There were four siblings, an elder sister of fourteen or fifteen and three younger brothers; the family was happy and well integrated, without financial worries. The father is a successful street trader and within their own environment he and the boy's grandfather have some social standing—their ownership of stables, horses and carts, which they hire out to other traders, stamps them as outstandingly successful in their district. The mother is an inadequate, anxious little woman who is convinced that the whole story is a pack of lies and that B. is incapable of such behaviour; she finds his sullenness and occasional outbursts of aggression disturbing, but attributes all that to his being a 'growing boy'. She, like the boy, was at first hostile to his attending the clinic, as was the father; but from the time of B.'s ready acceptance of his visits the family have become somewhat reconciled to the situation.

B.'s original visits, when he was seen by my predecessor, were somewhat chaotic; he was extremely sullen, hostile and resentful, and terminated interviews either by walking out, threatening not to return, or by refusing to speak. When I saw him individually on a few occasions he was a tense, anxious, resentful pre-adolescent, sitting on each occasion with tightly folded arms and tightly compressed lips, looking for all the world like an unhappy caricature of a more mature, street-corner lounge. He affected the peculiar haircut characteristic of this type. On the second visit he cried and rushed out of the room when I spoke to him about masturbation; he later returned, or was returned by his mother. He said he cried because he wanted to 'bash me in'. B. welcomed the formation of the group.

The next case, L.F., was an attractive, talkative, highly intelligent boy of thirteen and a half. He was referred to us by the probation officer for stealing stamps from a shop. This was the fourth time he had been before the Juvenile Court on a similar charge. I never really ascertained the details of these offences but they seemed to involve the technique of the confidence trickster and there was usually a stooge directed by the master-mind of L. The first delinquent episode had occurred at the age of eight. L. is the eldest of three children, the son of intelligent but embittered parents. He had a normal birth, a rapid, precocious development and gained a scholarship to a Public School, from which, however, he was expelled on account of the charge. L. was said to be an excitable, restless boy with a passion for stamp-collecting and noting engine numbers. He developed numerous passionate but transient friendships. On the first interview, although manifestly tense, unhappy and troubled he was glib and verbose and rationalized freely. It seemed that he was more anxious about his father's reaction than about the offence or the possible court decision. His father was a tense,

obsessional perfectionist, working as a clerk at £7 a week, an intelligent, aggressive type, bitterly disappointed about his own social and financial position. He was full of plans for his son's future and indulged in long discussions with the boy, principally about these plans and about politics. Concurrently with this amiable course of conduct, Mr. F. was, however, repeating the pattern of his own relationship with his father, a strict disciplinarian. He frequently practised a sneering sarcasm and aggression towards the boy. This attitude was manifested first when the father returned from almost six years' army service; prior to that there had been an unquestioning mutual idolization. L.'s identification with this vacillating father varied a good deal, but he also presented a façade of intense admiration and approval of him. L. was a disapproving, defaulting, uninterested attender at the clinic, and the first few months were rightly devoted to finding the appropriate educational environment for this intelligent boy. During his interviews he embarked on condescending, apologetic discussions of some of his superficial difficulties, and no progress was noted. I saw him on a few occasions and invited him to join the group. He was fascinated by the prospect and when I outlined the procedure his only question was whether we could discuss politics.

The fourth boy, D.W., aged fourteen, was referred by the probation officer for masturbating publicly in a park. The description of the occurrence given to us was characteristic of exhibitionism: as soon as he had seen a woman and child approaching he had exhibited his penis and commenced masturbating. D. denied the exhibitionistic aspect but said that he had been in the park where he frequently went to masturbate. He denied any special gratification at being seen masturbating. D. had a normal birth and development and was one of seven siblings, ranging from nine to twenty-three years of age. He had no overt difficulties during or after evacuation, which had occurred in company with the whole family. His father, a master builder, is a shadowy figure whom D. would not discuss until a private interview took place, after some ten group sessions. It then came out that the father is an atheistic Irishman who drinks rather heavily, is argumentative, and is not much interested in the boy. The mother is a reasonably intelligent, affectionate woman, primarily concerned with her large family. The brother born after D. was blind from the age of twelve months. D. was particularly attached to him and learned Braille with him. The brother left home to go to a boarding school some three weeks before the offence, and D. wrote and read the family letters to and from this boy. D. was not sexually unsophisticated; he had apparently twice had sexual intercourse with a young girl two years his senior and enjoyed both occasions. They had been fellow-members of a social club. Although enjoying intercourse

he had recently not wanted it; he had developed a good deal of general anxiety which was possibly due in part to a fear of syphilis; and he began to avoid this girl and changed his club. D. hated attending the Clinic; his sessions were unproductive and unhappy. He occasionally referred to his masturbation anxieties and asked me if his mother knew that he masturbated in bed at night. His masturbation fantasies were apparently conventional, about nude women. He offered the rationalization that he needed no treatment because he merely masturbated—that wasn't abnormal, was it? D., like the others, was pleased about the group formation.

GROUP REACTIONS AND MATERIAL

The first group meeting occurred in conventional style: the boys sat around in chairs of their own choice in my room, and each looked eagerly around for somebody to open the conversation. This occurred in unusual fashion. B. had been sitting in a more relaxed position than usual, but kept tapping his feet on the ground and beating time with his thumb and forefinger on his knee. D. looked at him and asked why he was tapping, 'Oh', said B., 'I do this for hours—I can sit at home and keep on doing this. Don't you ever do anything like this?' 'Yes', said D., 'I whistle without whistling.' Everyone looked surprised. D. explained that he pursed his lips and went through all the motions of whistling without making a sound, but keeping the tunes in his mouth. T. then said apologetically that he did the same, and that he also played the piano in the air for 'hours', whistling to it all the while. He named the tunes he liked playing, and wondered if he would ever be as great a pianist as he believed himself to be during his own private 'sessions'. T.'s mentioning one particular tune reminded L. and B. simultaneously of hearing it over the radio; and they were soon busy discussing their favourite radio programmes. In this connection I might add that radios and radio programmes play an important part in these boys' lives and are frequently referred to in group sessions. An interesting episode occurred at the second session when they were again discussing radio and radio plays and serials, and the long duration of some serials. I was asked my opinion of serials but pleaded ignorance of them. However, the boys came to the unanimous conclusion that they didn't like long-drawn-out episodic plays, waiting around for something else to happen; they far preferred the whole thing to be finished in one long 'do'. I interpreted this for the group and indicated their hostilities to prolonged treatment and to me. They giggled—B. laughed, which was the first positive demonstration from him.

Incidentally the radio is also utilized by these boys in other ways, *e.g.* in attempts to bring me within the orbit of current discussions by frequent

questions as to what I think of such and such. I have to lie unashamedly and must appear to these youngsters a peculiarly unsophisticated listener. Radio is also used to indicate and introduce their intra-familial hostilities and disappointments which would further indicate their desire to introduce me as an enthusiastic listener. They discuss those members of the family who don't want to listen, or have the radio turned up louder, which they all interpret as being indifferent to their interests. They express disappointment at parental lack of enthusiasm, usually paternal. This lack of enthusiasm they equate with age, though no actual age has yet been indicated.

Radio has also permitted the introduction of group fantasies. A play—a serial about Australian bushrangers—permitted B. to introduce the topic of his grandfather's horses. He told us how much time he spends in the stables and how he utilizes these carhorses for Wild West fantasies. He frequently goes direct from the stables to the neighbouring cinema where he stays for the cowboy film and leaves without seeing the other film, a point to which I shall have occasion to return. Once B. had touched on his daydreams all the others were stimulated to produce similar material. Two of them think continually about going to South Africa and ranching there. The daydreams described by L. were all on a 'higher' plane. He spoke of going to Cambridge and becoming a barrister, but openly questioned whether he had the brain for it. Nobody reassured him, but this intrusion of reality into the daydream discussion stimulated T. to recall that someone had told him how unwelcome he would be in South Africa; and he supposed he would return to the other wish and dreams, concerning the Science Museum. They proceeded to blame school teachers for not telling the truth about far-away places. This particular session they concluded by long tirades against the 'school teacher'.

We exchanged our room for the more comfortable setting of a large consulting room; the boys were all suitably impressed by the surroundings and stared at the pictures—one in particular, about which there was considerable argument whether it was a man or woman, or whether a sailor or soldier. Opinion was pretty evenly divided. This was followed by a prolonged discussion of why the two halves of the picture were painted in different colours. They all accepted L.'s view that it was to depict different sides of the soldier, sailor, man-woman-figure's character, good and bad, or unhappy and happy; but they couldn't decide which colour meant which; only L. and T. projected themselves into this situation and saw themselves as being of two sides and two colours; but nothing further developed.

This session was interesting because towards the end T. was most unhappy, squirming around in his seat and continually fidgeting, and finally rushed to ask me where the lavatory was. Some time after the session was

concluded he was seen leaving the lavatory. The next session I myself asked T. why he hadn't got up earlier and gone to the lavatory. T. replied: 'I was too interested to worry;' and then added spontaneously, 'I enjoy both so much, being here and not going to the lavatory, and I also enjoy going to the lavatory more afterwards.' L. tut-tutted and invoked the biology master, who had apparently lectured to them on the dangers of withholding urine and fæces; but added, 'I did it before he told us, but only with my water; I kept it in for hours.' L. then returned to the theme of the previous week about good and bad and wondered about the utilization of bad for good—*i.e.* enjoying holding in the water and enjoying the discomfort. D. took part in the discussion, saying that he remembered when he was an evacuee holding in his fæces, and being frightening into abandoning the habit by somebody's threats that he would become encopretic—he thinks the 'somebody' was his mother (this in answer to a direct question of mine). B. remained silent through all this. Then there was a short general silence, and D. suddenly said: 'It's the same with tossing, you stop, and wait, and then you go on—it is the same, isn't it?' B. was the only one who became overtly disturbed at this disclosure—he reddened and became visibly uncomfortable and kept muttering 'No'. D. and I together asked him what the 'No' referred to. He relaxed and said just 'No'. We all unanimously decided that the 'No' indicated a taboo on the introduction of the topic of masturbation. This session then resolved into a semi-class-lecture on masturbation and the popular legend of its dangers.

The next meeting occurred on a particularly cold day. The boys wondered if it was going to snow. I remarked 'Isn't it too cold to snow?' The group then turned on me like one man and proceeded to ridicule my remark. A long dissertation on the formation of sleet, snow and hail, and moons and tides followed. They relished this enormously and were all greatly pleased with their display of knowledge. During the next session someone mentioned that he now visited his probation officer only once a month and that at the new club to which his probation officer had introduced him, they had dancing. B. remarked how pleased he was with his new-found prowess in dancing: 'Wait till you dance with a girl', said D. B. said he didn't like dancing with boys but D. felt he preferred it and hadn't danced with girls yet; he was too shy, he said. L. didn't like dancing; he had other things to do. T. also infinitely preferred dancing with boys (it is apparently quite common for boys to dance together in these clubs, and dancing in boys' clubs is standard procedure).

At this point they began teasing each other about being scared to dance with girls, but nothing emerged from this, except that B.'s girl partners were only his sister and a cousin. I noted at this stage that B. had changed a good

deal physically; moreover, he had adopted an ordinary haircut, his tie was no longer outside his pullover, nor was it of the previous 'spiv' shape and size. He walked differently, without his hands in his pockets, and his chin didn't keep jutting out as aggressively as before.

The approach of the General Election provided the next few sessions with material but nothing definite emerged until one evening L. arrived a few minutes late and said he had questioned a speaker about his attitude to wars, and he had not received much of a reply. L. then proceeded to berate me about Mr. Churchill and warmongering. He kept referring to me as 'you Tories', identifying me with Mr. Churchill, and then developed his theme about wars—how fathers had to go away during wars; how their protective influence was removed, which led to 'boys getting into trouble'. L. invited the others to agree with him, but they only decided that they wanted Labour to win. They wanted jobs, they said, and Labour was going to look after them.

During the next session, which took place on the day before the Election, D. was describing the general excitement when B. said 'I don't like war or fighting', and went on to report how he leaves the cinema if he knows people are going to get killed. He admits that killing in cowboy pictures is different: 'You know they're not really dead'. But fighting and killing 'like in other pictures' he didn't want to see. He then added rather shyly that he walked out on 'soppy kissing' as well. All except D. expressed conventional dislike for kissing films and a strong preference for slap-stick comedy. T. said he didn't mind it on the radio, during a programme. Everyone agreed. All the three non-aggressive boys enjoyed screen violences in any form, and said so.

More recent sessions have been less productive. The last one was concerned with aspirations; L.'s desire to 'continue learning' caused astonishment and amusement in the other three; there was obvious disapproval and resentment of his continual references to scholarships and Cambridge.

RESULTS

At the time of writing I have now been seeing these boys for about five months, during which time there has been continued progress. They look forward to sessions—attend regularly and enjoy them. They have lost their hostile and resentful reactions to the hospital. I have lost my policeman's uniform and we are reliving numerous conflict situations, which, within the permissive friendly group atmosphere, are losing their previous traumatic character. We have not worked through very much, but the process has been started positively and can now continue.

These boys have improved in more ways than one. The non-recurrence of delinquencies by itself is meaningless, but in association with the improvement of 'psychical tone' can be viewed as the relaxation of a particularly persistent neurotic symptom. Moreover I was able to report from personal observation of the parents that they responded favourably to the change in the rebellious boy who previously 'performed' each time mother sent him to the 'policeman'.

To have carried on seeing these children individually in weekly interviews would, in view of their hostility, certainly not have produced the conspicuously gratifying result that these bi-weekly group sessions produced in them. At the same time it is quite evident that the true underlying pattern of neurotic maldevelopment and delinquent behaviour is not as well understood by the therapist or the child from group as from individual sessions. As a result of release of tension, diminution of internal hostility and improvement of well-being, these children were able to feel free enough on a few occasions to ask for individual sessions. I felt they were in need of this and readily agreed. These individual sessions invariably dealt with feelings of anxiety concerning their behaviour in the group and certain minor events at home.

The group created for them a situation which they are well able to carry over into individual sessions. One can envisage such a group as being a very useful preliminary to more intensive individual investigation and treatment, but the difficulties occurring in a busy children's department prevent such intensive interviews as would facilitate a working through of the problems of these disturbed children.

FOLLOW-UP

A follow-up study of these four boys, carried out for about a year after the cessation of treatment by a social worker who was in close touch with the parents and the families of these children throughout their treatment, produced an interesting picture. Three of the boys—B., the aggressive raper, D., the exhibitionist, and the youngest one, T., have all done well; they have concluded their probation period and have not got into trouble; and reports from the local Care Committee, from Schools and from parents all substantiate the appearance of improvement in these children. In addition, they are adapting well to their home situation and are apparently happy. The fourth boy, L., however, who throughout the group sessions was always noticeably different, garrulous and somewhat effusive, has had repeated breakdowns. He has been expelled from his school as a result of repeated charges of petty theft; he is once again on probation and is now receiving individual treatment. His breakdowns, of course, have served to

increase the intense hostility that existed between this boy and his father, and it is now obvious that a combined approach is required. Both the boy and his father need individual treatment.

REFERENCES

- BURROW, T. J. 'Social Images versus Reality', *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1924, **19**, 230-5.
- KLAPMAN, J. 'Group Psychotherapy.' London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1948. Pp. 332.
- LAZELL, E. W. 'The Group Psychiatric Treatment of Dementia-Præcox by Lectures in Mental Re-education', *Psychoanal. Rev.*, 1921, **8**, 168-79.
- REDL, F. 'Group Emotion and Leadership', *Psychiatry*, 1942, **5**, 573-96.
- REDL, F. 'Group Psychological Elements in Discipline and Problems', *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1943, **13**, 77-88.
- SLAVSON, S. R. 'Group Therapy', *Mental Hygiene*, 1940, **24**, 36-49.
- SLAVSON, S. R. 'Current Practices in Group Therapy', *Mental Hygiene*, 1944, **28**, 414-22.
- WOLF, A. 'The Psychoanalysis of Groups' (Part II), *Amer. J. Psychother.*, 1950, **4**, 16-50.

~~~~~

'When we come to inquire why rules of conduct, however hard, irksome, or unwelcome, are obeyed ; what makes private life, economic co-operation, public events run so smoothly ; of what, in short, consist the forces of law and order in savagery—the answer is not easy to give, and what anthropology has had to say about it is far from satisfactory. . . . That the savage does break the law sometimes, though rarely and occasionally, has been recorded by observers and taken into account by builders of anthropological theory, who have always maintained that criminal law is the only law of savages. But that his observance of the rules of law under the normal conditions, when it is followed and not defied, is at best partial, conditional, and subject to evasions ; that it is not enforced by any wholesale motive like fear of punishment, or a general submission to all tradition, but by very complex psychological and social inducements—all this is a state of affairs which modern anthropology has so far completely overlooked.'

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI. 'Crime and Custom in Savage Society.' London : International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1926, pp. 9, 14, and 15.

# THE DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF COMPENSATORY TYPES OF INDECENT EXPOSURE

By DAVID T. MACLAY (BRENTWOOD)

Indecent exposure appears to be more prevalent than any other form of sexual offence. Taylor (1947) in a recent series has indicated that exposure represents nearly a third of all sexual offences. Furthermore, his figures reveal a much higher proportion of such offences in relation to the total of offences of all types as compared with a 1924 series investigated by East. Arieff and Rotman (1942) state that exhibitionism is the commonest of all sex offences.

Laségue first wrote on the subject in 1877 and it was widely pioneered by Havelock Ellis and Freud at the turn of the century. Freud's researches demonstrated that every pathological disorder of sexual life is rightly to be regarded as an inhibition in development. The active aim (torture: look at—sadism: scopophilia) is changed into a passive aim (be tortured: be looked at—masochism: exhibitionism). Small children, he says, are essentially without shame, and at some period of their earliest years show an unmistakable satisfaction in exposing their bodies, with especial emphasis on the sexual parts. Exhibitionists exhibit their own genitals to obtain a reciprocal view of the genitals of the other person. Freud brings out the fact that the progressive concealment of the body, which goes along with civilization, keeps sexual curiosity awake and that this curiosity seeks to complete the sexual object by revealing its hidden parts. These dicta of the great pioneer are of considerable relevance to the theme that is propounded in the present article. Havelock Ellis states: 'Exhibitionism is a form of erotic symbolism in which an adequate equivalent of coitus is found in the simple act of deliberately exhibiting the sexual organ to persons of the opposite sex. Various classifications of exhibitionism have been put forward: thus Maeder recognized three forms: (a) the infantile, to gaze and to be gazed at being normal in childhood; (b) the senile, which is a method of sexual excitement in the impotent; and (c) exhibitionism as a method of sexual invitation, which may occur in fairly normal persons of defective virility.' Ellis mentions a few other groups—psychopaths, mental defectives, epileptics, depraved and vicious persons and so on. The variety of hypotheses advanced by these and subsequent authors and the undoubted fact that many exhibitionists display more or less severe pathological and character defects tend to obscure the importance of recognizing a near normal and, as I claim, eminently treatable group. It



is the aim of this paper to demonstrate the existence of this numerically significant group of persons, in whom the act of exposure is of a compensatory nature and provides the individual with a substitute satisfaction for that which he would have achieved, but for certain inhibitions, through more acceptable forms of love-making.

In this connection the views of several other writers are of importance. East (1924), for instance, considered a series of 150 cases. Among them he found that forty were visionaries, in whom phantasy indulgence was prominent. In thirty-five the act was an attempt to attract, excite or invite a female, and these he puts in his group of 'depraved persons', but from details of some of the instances he quotes one wonders if immaturity of sexual stature would not equally well designate their true condition. Five were psychoneurotics and the remaining seventy persons so basically deteriorated that psychotherapy would seem unlikely to be able to touch their constitutional defect.

East and Hubert (1939) say: 'The group is a very mixed one. There are the true exhibitionists; men who prefer this method of sexual relief to any other and have practised it repeatedly. . . . Such men usually fight against the temptation and are anxious to have it removed. There are other types; for example some who practise it, often followed by mild sexual assault, as a means of obtaining sexual intercourse. Habit in this group appears to be of great importance. Physical satisfaction becomes so closely associated with this particular form of gratification that it will persist very frequently after marriage, and parallel to the practice of perfectly normal sexual intercourse.' It has been my own experience that not infrequently the man is married, while Arieff and Rotman (1942) say that of their hundred cases, thirty-eight were married. Naville and Dubois-Ferrière (1938) claim that their observations show that, contrary to what has often been said, the greater number of 'classical' exhibitionists suffer from enhanced sexual needs, 'quantitative or qualitative', also that exhibitionism in hyposexual individuals, in mental defectives and in true perverts is of an entirely different character. On the other hand, and at variance with my own views is the opinion expressed by Kraft-Ebbing (1930) that: 'The silly manner of this sexual activity, or really sexual demonstration points to intellectual and moral weakness; or at least a temporary inhibition of the intellectual and moral functions.' Ellis refers to their defective virility and to the fact that the edge of their sexual aggressiveness certainly is blunted, while in not a few there exists a sense of inferiority, largely conscious and covering a wide range of the sexual and social fields. Three of Taylor's cases alleged a fear of contracting venereal disease.

It seems reasonable to classify cases of indecent exposure in a series of

groups of descending pathological gravity, a series which will illustrate not only the varying types of mental background which produce this behaviour but also the variety of treatment problems that these persons present. Thus we have the following:

(1) Organic cerebral change (including a number of senile, arteriosclerotic patients, who may be men of good character, and also some whose deterioration is an effect of alcohol).

(2) Psychotics.

(3) Mental defectives.

(4) Psychopaths and depraved persons, the motive in the depraved type being a vicious one.

(5) Epileptics.

(6) Senile persons not included in Group (1).

(7) The infantile.

(8) Cases showing unsatisfactory marital relationships—a doubtful group the members of which ought, perhaps, to appear in some of the other categories.

(9) Neuroses, including impulsive cases.

(10) True exhibitionists who practice exposure as a means of sexual relief.

(11) Compensatory types, who may be normal persons in whom the offence is 'functional', or persons in whom this form of behaviour has become exaggerated by overcompensation.

*It is to cases of this last type that the treatment to be outlined in this Paper is applicable.* Recent experience suggests that cases of this kind are relatively frequent. *In them, I believe, the exposure is an act of more or less normal individuals and is in the nature of an anomalous form of the ordinary sexual advance.* Such patients are typically shy, reserved, timorous and subject to much sexual suppression.

The following case was brought to my notice by Rowley during the war. A young married soldier, while on service abroad, yielded to a strong urge to expose himself to women. Incidents of this nature, previous to his coming abroad, were also admitted and may in part be explained in relation to the polygamous streak in man, shortly to be mentioned. But his acting in this way while abroad had certain features of its own. He felt the need of a sexual outlet, nor would it have been difficult under the circumstances then obtaining to find a temporary partner. But a timorous shyness apparently restricted his manner of expressing this need, coupled with the fear of possible retribution, in the form perhaps, of venereal infection or of social disapprobation, should events lift the veil of secrecy in course of time. His behaviour almost certainly represented a vicarious act of inter-



course, not so much because of an actual perversion but more simply, on account of his being afraid.

Weatherhead (1944) has pointed out that to gaze and to be gazed at is sometimes a part of the love play of ardent lovers. In this way we can see the act as being more nearly related to a not unhealthy behaviour trait than may on the surface be apparent. Christoffel (1936) says that every genital exhibitionist is an active scopophilic and notes the simultaneous strong instinct to possess the object, which however, is evidently opposed by an even stronger force. In another place he draws attention to the possible connection between exhibitionism and stammering. I had not previously been aware of this, but it so happens that a case I at present have under treatment has a slight emotional stammer. Walker and Strauss (1948) remind us that some men find themselves impotent on account of their wives' excessive modesty and, without realizing it, require the visual stimulus in love-play to render them fully potent. They refer to the normal tendency in children to exposing themselves and peeping, and say that scopophilia and exhibitionism appear to represent a full sexualization of the immature type of libidinal satisfaction. Allen (1949) quotes Fenichel as claiming that exhibitionism represents an eternal denial of castration. He himself, however, cannot feel altogether satisfied with this explanation, but considers that the wish to look at someone is *the manifestation of love*. He quotes Kinsey to the effect that of 1,843 boys, 43 per cent. had indulged in pre-adolescent sex-play and of these 99 per cent. had used scopophilic-exhibitionistic activity in it. Hadfield (1950) says that the childish tendency to draw attention to oneself is transferred to the uses of adult sexuality as a wooing tendency, the main function of which is to arouse sex feelings in the person desired. Rickles (1951) gives a psychiatric assessment of family factors and of the clinical conditioning of exhibitionists, whom he regards as essentially neurotic and compulsive types. He stresses the decisive influence of maternal factors, particularly of the dominating and aggressively masculine type of mother. These types, he maintains, use their sons as a compensation for their lack of male sex organ; they provoke excessive narcissism in the son and an over-active Oedipus complex, which leads to the development of a compulsive, psychoneurotic personality.

Consideration of the intellectual standards of persons addicted to self-exposure is rewarding, for we find that the perversion is by no means confined to those of lower intellectual gifts. Christoffel (1936) tells us that his experience has been that they are intelligent people whose thirst for knowledge and craving for recognition have never been fully satisfied, and who are above all ambitious people whose ambition has not been gratified. Rickles (1942) says that among his cases were skilled workers, employers,

insurance salesmen, engineers and chemists, men who could not be disposed of under such broad terms as psychopathic, depraved, epileptic or mentally deficient. On the contrary, he says, they were usually shy, timid persons of surprisingly high intellect to whom the act of exposing their sexual organ was in violent reaction against their whole dispositions; and he refers to the willingness of many to undergo treatment, their interest in the interpretations given them, their willingness to make serious efforts at adjustment and the marked improvement achieved in the majority.

A further quality which cannot altogether be overlooked is that of the polygamous streak that undoubtedly exists in the male. This feature of human nature may be successfully and permanently overridden by the monogamous ideal that also is entrenched in the human character, always provided that spouses are well-mated and the love match both sterling and enduring. Be it otherwise, the incentive to extra-marital relationships is frequently so strong that only the most rigid moral code will withstand it. In the absence of sublimation motivated by such a code there may still be restraining forces which preclude actual illegitimate intercourse, and it is in some of these cases that the substitute of self-exposure is resorted to.

An interesting case was that of a sixty-four-year-old man who exposed himself to some girls at the entrance to a lavatory. Not improbably he had always been a rather simple type: he married for the first time at the age of fifty-one, there were no children, his wife being seven years older than he, and for some time before the misdemeanour she had been suffering from senile confusional state. In his loneliness he committed the offence for the solace it gave him. He was most ashamed of the occurrence, which was certainly due, at least in part, to the virtual loss of his wife's companionship, and I was left in no doubt that this illicit experience with these girls in some way served as a substitute for that of intercourse, physical and mental, with his spouse. He was bound over by the Court and the treatment became chiefly that of assisting him to re-habilitate himself socially, seeing that he was denied a normal home life.

Certain of the factors we have already considered were operative in the case of a young man of twenty-four, who was actually on his way to see his lady friend when he exposed himself to two small girls in allotments through which he had occasion to pass. As a boy he had been shy and had mixed little with the opposite sex, while perhaps the most striking thing about him when he came for consultation was the enormous leather belt, decorated to the point of vulgar profusion with regimental badges, which he wore and which he claimed had been captured *by his brother* from the Nazis. His offence seemed to be unpremeditated and more or less impulsive in its origin, as though the circumstances in which he momentarily found himself



had suddenly roused within him an immature sexual urge which then came for the time being to dominate his personality. Among the tasks of subsequent therapy was that of enabling him to see that the sexual urge was behind his act but at the same time to appreciate its abnormality. His immaturity made complete insight difficult to achieve but a partial adjustment was possible.

Less dependent upon impulse was the action of a married man, aged thirty, who went in an afternoon to the swimming baths, where he twice exposed himself to a number of schoolgirls. In 1944 he had for a time been a patient in a military psychiatric centre on active service: in 1947 complaint had been made of the fact that he sunbathed naked among some sandhills close to a town. A narcissistic quality can probably explain this particular action. He admitted to one experience with a prostitute abroad. A tiresome domestic situation existed at home, where the patient and his wife lived with his mother-in-law and her family; but apart from the problems this environment presented their marriage was not an unhappy one and they were, so far as could be judged, not ill-suited to each other. He was a timid, immature type, who volunteered the statement that he would never deliberately harm anyone, and that he thought the act had pleased the girls who were his object, as they had giggled in response. In time he gained at least a partial comprehension of the fact that he had actually been indulging in a substitute form of sexual experience with these girls: in phantasy he had made love to them. In time, too, he came to appreciate the impossibility, from the point of view of women and girls, of accepting such a manifestation of the erotic urge.

Hirning (1947) says that reassurance against castration anxiety appears to be at the root of the impulse to display the penis. But specially interesting is a further comment in his paper regarding Tony, aged eighteen, who later in adolescence did not enjoy masturbation unless in the presence of a witness of the opposite sex, particularly 'a girl with big breasts', and was strongly conscious of a desire to view female breasts while exhibiting his penis. In the opinion of that writer, Tony's interest in exposing himself to a woman with prominent breasts indicated a step beyond the reassurance of castration anxiety by simple exposure, and as such pointed to a better prognosis. This appears to support the contention of exposure as a substitute for intercourse. Similarly, a case described by Melitta Sperling (1947) is interesting. It relates to the analysis for exhibitionism of a doctor during which causes emerged that had operated very early in life, in particularly his relationship towards and identification with his mother. None the less, his acts of exposure may well have been in themselves substitutes for normal love-making, as seems the more probable from the circumstance that once,

while exhibiting himself in the subway, he had put his hand between a girl's legs.

A twenty-seven-year-old miner exposed himself very openly from a window to factory girls passing home along the street. Sometimes he would masturbate afterwards and if he did, would do so to the accompaniment of thoughts of these girls. A simple analytic procedure elicited from him the spontaneous statement that he was using this behaviour as a substitute for intercourse. In a mental sense he was, in fact, having intercourse with them. He believed that 90 per cent. of the women would feel pleasure from what he was doing. Among other facts were that sex had been taboo in his home, his father being a very strict man in this and related respects, so that even parties were frowned upon. Until the age of nineteen he had remained shy and made little approach to girls. His wife he described as 'frigid'. While in the Navy he had had experience of prostitutes, but they no longer satisfied him as he did not respect them, a quality of attractiveness in the female being a necessary attribute. Under treatment he gained considerable insight.

Nor can we well afford to lose sight of the fact that real standards of decency within our society are by no means always high and that prudery remains a widespread shortcoming. Of everyday occurrence are the veiled gestures in print, word and action that lead one to the certain conclusion that large sections of the public are not averse from hearing or witnessing ribaldry. Within a brief space recently three such occurrences—a scene on the films that was greeted by considerable giggling on the part of the audience, a suggestive postcard and a pictorial magazine of nudes and near-nudes—happened to come under my own observation. Such printed matter would not be displayed if there were no demand for it. Allen remarks (1940) that scopophilia-exhibitionism is, more than any other perversion, the result of civilization and says that it is catered for socially by the theatre: strip-tease, fan dances and bubble dances. This may be no justification of the offence, but the potential exhibitionist finds himself in this situation where there is a legal and social prohibition of these activities, but in which at the same time suggestiveness of these things is clamant. This unfortunate aspect of our social morality may in part be a revolt against suppression by parental and other authority of childish and youthful desires and acts, which in themselves would have been innocuous had freer rein been allowed to the children concerned, while the act of the older exhibitionist may in some measure be but another manifestation of this revolt against mishandled childhood urges. Hirning (1947) tells us that one of his most constant findings was that of a puritanical and excessively proper attitude within the family toward sexual matters. Concomitant with this finding was that of



an excessively proper attitude towards sexual matters in the offender himself. Falstein (1947) gives details of the interesting case of a boy of fourteen who lived alone with his mother and father, the former being rather seductive and over-protective and the latter extremely moralistic and strict, and who was finally apprehended after having indulged for a year in a 'lone wolf' type of stealing and burglarizing, associated with peculiar erotic reactions when he was doing what was forbidden, and similar sensations as he awaited arrest and punishment. When he was finally caught and the outlet provided by his stealing closed to him through various circumstances, he began to masturbate and shortly was found in a field exposing himself to a middle-aged woman. His defensiveness made him a difficult boy to treat, but repeated interviews over a period of six months altered his basic conceptions of sexuality and have not been followed by any recurrence of the exhibitionistic behaviour. In this connection—suppression and prudery on one hand, with an obvious though veiled public desire for suggestive topics on the other—it is interesting to observe that the perversion shows little sign of diminishing incidence, as witness the figure of 1,931 cases in 1938 and 2,189 in 1947 (Report of Joint Committee).

So far as I am aware indecent exposure is rarely encountered among primitive races, and herein is food for thought. During several years while I was working among the Zulu people I was struck by the natural modesty they displayed. Among them the need for a sexual outlet, especially to the young, was assumed much more as a matter of course than in our own civilization. Reared more closely to nature, their instincts have suffered less repression than among some Western races, with less resulting distortion of behaviour patterns.

In the type of case, then, that in particular we have under consideration—the near normal man who exposes himself—the *exposure is often in large measure a substitute for the sexual act*; and one or more of the following factors may operate to bring about the substitution.

(a) A degree of retardation in the individual's achievement of emotional and psycho-sexual maturity.

(b) Timidity or shyness, strict, prudish upbringing and fear of rebuff to normal advances.

(c) Fear of venereal disease and, especially in the case of some married men, of social and family consequences of illicit intercourse.

No small importance attaches to consideration of what are the man's beliefs regarding the girl's probable reaction to his behaviour. He usually has no wish to harm his victims in any way: on the contrary, he would give them pleasure and sometimes he has sufficient reason for believing that he is in fact doing so. Rickles gives, as one reason underlying exhibitionism,

that the individual's finer sensibilities are inhibited and that he is unable to estimate with any degree of accuracy either the impression he is likely to produce or the general results of his action, although this does not refer particularly to the type of case we are considering. I feel sure that in a prepondering number of instances of the compensatory type we are considering the man is misjudging the girl's attitude and that he fails to realise the instinctive disgust she may experience, particularly should she have a lover of her own, in which case his behaviour is a still greater insult. Further, she may be afraid—afraid because she believes that exposure is the prelude to rape, or afraid because of dimly conceived notions of dangerous men—and in this way psychological trauma may be done to young girls, the full consequences of which may appear only after the lapse of years. Probably he has not thought of these things.

It is, I claim, to the consideration of the various factors set forth above that we should have recourse in planning the treatment of this special type. Generally speaking, psychological treatment must be analytical, even if in many cases it need not be deeply so, and the form of therapy to be undertaken in the present type of case is not an exception to the rule. During the interviews it is necessary to lead the patient to discover for himself the more or less unconscious factors that have motivated his actions; and the scheme here outlined is but a framework around which it is proposed the therapy may be undertaken. Thus one hopes by a rationale that is in part analytic and in part didactic—indeed as much didactic as the need for achieving insight permits—to treat such patients without unduly taxing our resources of time and of trained manpower.

As adjuncts to recovery the patient may be assisted to direct some of his sexual energy into other channels and whatever possibilities reside in his nature, whether it be a love of animals, an athletic instinct, a constructive bent or some other useful attribute, may with determination be developed and turned to good account. One or two pastimes have a high social and community-sexual value. Chief among these is probably dancing: others are club life, tennis, communal holiday centres, cycling or rambling clubs or the like. Especially for the unmarried and for the poor-mixer type they contain possibilities that should not be neglected. Where the patient is married no stone should be left unturned to ensure harmony and happiness.

On the other hand, we find, particularly amongst some Continental authors, a less optimistic viewpoint. These authors appear to regard all cases of exposure as forming a class of irremediabiles. Jentzer (1938), a surgical writer, states categorically that such patients are incurable invalids, unless castration is performed. He says that exhibitionism is a compulsive act beyond the control of the individual and he wonders if an abnormal

hormone is responsible. He quotes a number of cases where he has performed the operation, with cessation of the offence and apparent satisfaction on the part of the patient, but there is no hint that any psychological approach to the problem was attempted. Only certain medico-legal safeguards are recommended before the operation. Naville and others (1938) recommend castration as an ultimate remedy in cases refractory to psychotherapy. One of Taylor's cases, a recidivist aged sixty-one, spontaneously suggested castration as the only possible treatment for himself. It may be that in a few desperate cases this desperate remedy is warranted as a last resource, or possibly that a less final measure of hormone therapy may take its place. I fear, however, that any free resort to castration is a step towards undermining those fundamental values of the inviolability of human personality that we in this country hold so dear.

In the last place we have the problem of punishment. This aspect of the total situation has not lacked attention during recent times and it is no part of my present purpose to do more than make an observation or two. Christoffel (1936) avers that in our police and penal methods at the present time in dealing with such cases we are probably less advanced than old Laségue when he expressed the view that exhibitionism was '*un scandale privé plutôt qu'un outrage public*'. If anyone found guilty of exposure is a first offender and if he belongs to the sensitive, insecure group, the effect of imprisonment will be to weaken such stability as he possesses, to enhance any unsocial quality in his make-up and thereby to impair his chances of social readjustment. Young (1939) has put it nicely. Imprisonment, he says, remains an expression in concrete form of loss of public confidence in the ability of those who have committed crime to discharge their social obligations. The atmosphere of distrust which penetrates prisons from without is one of the principal obstacles to recovery of the sense of citizenship in the offender. From Silverman (1941) we learn that in the American city where he works the Police give the exhibitionist an opportunity to see the psychiatrist before making a charge against him, and that if treatment is thought feasible and is proceeded with, no Court action follows. This seems a valuable step in the right direction, as it allows treatment to be undertaken without setting the patient at the disadvantage that the publicity of a legal case involves. Mullins (1948) in a Maudsley lecture recalled the case of an exhibitionist, a man aged fifty-eight, who had served five sentences of imprisonment for that offence, for whom at last it was possible to enlist psychiatric aid and who had made excellent progress during two and a half years. On the other hand, I believe that the warning of such punishment as being likely to follow further offences can be a useful adjunct to therapy. The value of punishment resides not at all so much in the fact of its being



severe as in that of its being certain; and so long as we are unable to achieve an approximation to this latter desideratum we are inevitably at a disadvantage in expecting great results from its application, however exemplary it may be.

I wish to thank Dr. Edward Glover for the considerable amount of trouble he has taken in reviewing this Paper and for not a few helpful suggestions.

#### REFERENCES

- (1) ALLEN, C. (1940). 'The Sexual Perversions and Abnormalities.' London: Oxford University Press. Pp. xii + 193.
- (2) ARIEFF, A. J., and ROTMAN, D. B. (1942). 'Psychiatric Inventory of One Hundred Cases of Indecent Exposure', *Arch. Neur. Psychiat.*, **47**, 495-6.
- (3) CHRISTOFFEL, H. (1936). 'Exhibitionism and Exhibitionists', *Int. J. Psycho-Anal.*, **17**, 321-45.
- (4) EAST, W. NORWOOD (1924). 'Observations on Exhibitionism', *Lancet*, 1924, *ii*, 370-5.
- (5) EAST, W. N., and HUBERT, W. H. de B. (1939). 'The Psychological Treatment of Crime.' London: H.M.S.O. Pp. iii + 166.
- (6) ELLIS, H. (1933). 'Psychology of Sex.' London: Wm. Heinemann. Pp. xii + 322.
- (7) FALSTEIN, E. I. (1942). 'Comment' on (2), *Arch. Neur. Psychiat.*, **47**, 497-8.
- (8) FREUD, S. (1925-46). 'Collected Papers, Vol. IV.' London: Hogarth Press. Pp. 508.
- (9) FREUD, S. (1909-14). 'Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality.' London: Imago Publishing Co. Ltd. Pp. 133.
- (10) HADFIELD, J. A. (1950). 'Psychology and Mental Health.' London: Allen and Unwin. Pp. 444.
- (11) HIRNING, L. C. (1947). 'Genital Exhibitionism: An Interpretive Study', *J. Clin. Psychopath.*, **8**, 557-64.
- (12) JENTZER, A. (1938). 'Castration in Therapy of Inversion and Psychopathic Exhibitionism, 7 cases', *Schw. med. Wochenschr.*, **68**, 476-8.
- (13) JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CRIMINAL LAW AND SEXUAL OFFENDERS (1949). Report. London: B.M.A. Pp. 24.
- (14) KRAFT-EBBING, R. v. (1930). 'Psychopathia Sexualis.' London: Wm. Heinemann Medical Books. Pp. xiii + 626.
- (15) MULLINS, C. (1948). 'Psychiatry and the Criminal Law: A Maudsley Lecture', *Brit. med. J.*, **4586**, 951-2.
- (16) NAVILLE, F., and DUBOIS-FERRIÈRE, H. (1938). 'Exhibitionism', *Schw. Arch. Neur. Psychiat.*, **42**, 334-60.
- (17) RICKLES, N. K. (1942). 'Exhibitionism', *J. nerv. ment. Dis.*, **95**, 11-7.
- (18) RICKLES, N. K. (1950). 'Exhibitionism.' Philadelphia, London, Montreal: J. B. Lippincott Co. Pp. 198.
- (19) ROWLEY, J. L. (1944). Personal Communication.
- (20) SILVERMAN, D. (1941). 'Treatment of Exhibitionism: Experiment in Co-operation between Police and Psychiatric Clinic', *Bull. Menninger Clin.*, **5**, 85-93.

- (21) SPERLING, M. (1947). 'Analysis of Exhibitionism', *Int. J. Psycho-Anal.*, 28, 32-45.
- (22) TAYLOR, F. H. (1947). 'Observations on Some Cases of Exhibitionism', *J. ment. Sci.*, 93, 631-8.
- (23) WALKER, K., and STRAUSS, E. B. (1948). 'Sexual Disorders in the Male.' London: Jonathan Cape. Pp. xiii + 260.
- (24) WEATHERHEAD, L. D. (1944). 'The Mastery of Sex through Psychology and Religion.' London: Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 192.
- (25) YOUNG, H. T. F. (1939). 'Appendix' to (5). London: H.M.S.O. Pp. iii + 166.

~~~~~

'The fact, therefore, that the Erewhonians attach none of that guilt to crime which they do to physical ailments, does not prevent the more selfish among them from neglecting a friend who has robbed a bank, for instance, till he has fully recovered; but it does prevent them from even thinking of treating criminals with that contemptuous tone which would seem to say, "I, if I were you, should be a better man than you are", a tone which is held quite reasonable in regard to physical ailment.'

SAMUEL BUTLER: 'Erewhon.'

'An amiable little urchin is pursuing his own gratification regardless of the comfort of others—is perhaps annoyingly vociferous in his play or is amusing himself by teasing a companion; or is trying to monopolize the toys intended for others in common with himself. Well, some kind of interposition is manifestly called for. Paternity with knit brows and a severe tone commands desistance—visits anything like reluctant submission with a sharp "Do as I bid you" if need be, hints as a whipping or the black hole. After sundry exhibitions of perverse feelings the child gives in; showing, however, by its sullenness the animosity it entertains. Meanwhile paternity pokes the fire and complacently resumes the newspaper, under the impression that all is as it should be. Most unfortunate mistake!'

HERBERT SPENCER: 'Social Statics.'

'When I consider how little of a rarity children are—that every street and blind alley swarms with them—that the poorest people commonly have them in most abundance—that there are few marriages that are not blest with at least one of these bargains—how often they turn out ill, and defeat the fond hopes of their parents, taking to vicious courses, which end in poverty, disgrace, the gallows, etc., I cannot for my life tell what cause for pride there can possibly be in having them.'

CHARLES LAMB: 'A Batchelor's Complaint of the Behaviour of Married People.'

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

CURRENT RESEARCH. XXIII. A FOLLOW-UP STUDY OF BORSTAL BOYS

(1) *Name of University or Government Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* The Prison Commission for England and Wales.

(2) *Subject of Research:* A follow-up study of approximately 700 Borstal boys.

(3) *Under whose auspices and by whom is the research being carried out?:* Under the auspices of the Prison Commission for England and Wales by Dr. H. Mannheim, Reader in Criminology, University of London, and members of the staff of the Government Social Survey under the direction of Mr. L. T. Wilkins, Senior Research Officer.

(4) *Started:* 1951. Completion expected towards the end of 1952.

(5) *Publication:* Nothing so far published.

XXIV. THE EXTENT AND CAUSES OF CRIMINAL DISHONESTY IN INDUSTRY.

(1) G. W. Lynch, B.Sc.(Econ.).

(2) A sample opinion survey of employees representative of the industrial population of the Greater London area. The information sought is intended to give a measure of the extent of dishonesty in industry and some account for the existence of the phenomenon. The following will be recorded: attitudes to opportunities, risks and punishment related to dishonesty in industry; effects of depersonalization of property ownership; property relations; individual and group attitudes; the effect of mass production and goods in bulk upon concepts of values; attitudes to dishonesty in regard to small as contrasted with large concerns; nationalized industries contrasted with private industries.

(3) As a thesis for the degree of M.Sc.(Econ.) in the University of London. Supervisor: Dr. H. Mannheim. Research worker: G. W. Lynch.

(4) *Started:* October, 1950. Likely to be completed October, 1952.

(5) Nothing so far published.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLASSIFYING OF DELINQUENT ADOLESCENT GIRLS¹

This note is based on observations made at the Magdalen Hospital, one of the two Home Office Classifying Approved Schools for senior girls, to which, following committal to an Approved School by a Juvenile Court, girls are sent for a period of observation and investigation before being transferred to their Training School.

Girls between the ages of fourteen and seventeen years are received at the Magdalen from the southern half of England and Wales. The object of classifying is to ensure that the girls are sent to the Training School best fitted for their particular needs and the work involves making an assessment of all the factors which have led to the offender's appearance in Court. This investigation also

¹ I should like to express my sincere gratitude to the Chairman and Managers of the Magdalen Hospital for all their help, and I owe a particular debt to Miss Raby, the Headmistress, with whom many of these problems have been discussed.

enables the Classifying School to make recommendations as to the type of training and method of handling most likely to be effective in each case. The girls are admitted to the Classifying School for a period of about six to eight weeks.

It has been suggested that the classifying might be carried out in the Remand Homes in order to avoid a further break in the girl's life, but there are counterbalancing advantages in classifying at an Approved School which has been set aside and specially staffed for this purpose. If a girl is to be sent to the school best suited to her needs, it is essential that those responsible for classifying should not only have insight into the girl's problems, but should also have an up-to-date knowledge of all the Approved Schools scattered throughout the country. There must be personal contact with the headmistress and staff of each school as well as a knowledge both of the facilities available there and of the type of girl who has recently been admitted. Therefore at least one member of the team at a classifying centre should be someone who has many years experience in Approved School work and an ability to judge the reaction of any particular girl to the personalities both of staff and girls in the school where it is intended to send her.

Some girls, following upon their committal in Court, pass through a brief period of emotional upset with an exacerbation of their anti-social feelings. Initially the girls are apt to regard their committal to an Approved School as a prison sentence and speak of 'doing their time' of three years. During the period at the Classifying School the girls are encouraged to see the causes that have led to their committal and the advantages that they may gain from it, so that by the time they go to a Training School they may be better adjusted and their anti-authoritarian attitude diminished. Moreover, a breakdown at the Training School has far more serious repercussions not only on the girl but on the whole school. The disadvantages of an additional environmental change can be reduced by committing the girl direct from the Court to the Classifying School without a further period of waiting in a Remand Home.

The length of the period at the Classifying School may be considered too long. In fact, in some cases of urgency it is very considerably reduced. As a general rule the six to eight weeks' period is valuable because during this time much is learned from observation of the girl herself, she is given time to adjust and information is collected which was not available at the time of committal. It is surprising what significant facts are often revealed during these weeks which were not available to the Juvenile Court. There is a different approach to the girl when the fact of her committal is already established and, curiously enough, information is occasionally obtained which has been deliberately withheld not only by the parents but by those having official charge of the girl. In one instance it was discovered that in a 'good' home, with parents apparently most concerned about her immoral behaviour, the girl's father was, in fact, having an incestuous relationship with her. In another case, knowledge of an incestuous relationship was withheld because it might prejudice the school against the girl and it was not regarded as relevant! Or again, a home may be described as good because the floors are clean and the brasses well polished; no reference is made to the conflicts or emotional stresses in the home environment. To-day, emotional rather than financial impoverishment is the more potent factor in delinquency.

The nature of the work imposes great strain on the staff of the Classifying School because they are continually dealing with acute emotional upsets in a

ceaseless flow of newly-committed girls with no senior girls to take responsibility or exert their influence.

During the period at the Classifying School all girls are seen both by the psychiatrist and by the educational psychologist. There are several reasons why this procedure is necessary. These interviews should be accepted by the girls as part of the routine life at the school so that no girl feels that she has been singled out as 'mental'. No girl is allowed to feel that a psychiatric investigation in any way diminishes her personal responsibility for the behaviour which led to committal. We do not know what the criteria should be for deciding that a psychiatric investigation is advisable; and unless all the girls are seen there might be a tendency to refer only those who were most disruptive, which would by no means coincide with those who were most emotionally disturbed. From the research aspect it is important that there should be an unselected sample who receive full investigation. The psychiatric reports are considered together with the result of observation of the girls in their houses and in the school room.

It has already been stressed that if this information about the girls is to be used to best effect it is essential that those in charge at the Classifying School should also have a detailed and up-to-date knowledge of the facilities available at the Training Schools. The schools need to be 'classified'. There is now an Approved School where girls can be sent who require psychiatric treatment in addition to an Approved School training. Other varieties of school are required. A school is needed for the border-line mental defective, who may exhibit aggressive behaviour. In spite of the facilities afforded by the Education and Health Authorities, girls are still received at the Classifying School who require certification under the Mental Deficiency Acts. Some of these girls have an intelligence quotient on the Stanford-Binet Scale as low as 50 to 55. A more difficult problem is afforded by those girls on the border-line of mental deficiency. Many of these girls come from bad homes and have had little opportunity in life. As mental deficiency is not to be judged on intelligence defect alone but by the much wider concept of social deficiency, these girls should be given the opportunity of responding to a stable and secure environment such as may be provided by an Approved School designed to meet their needs. The concept of moral deficiency is vague and ill-defined but certainly the capacity to benefit by experience is an important criterion and therefore every facility should be afforded delinquent girls of low intelligence who have come from sordid, unstable homes.

The question of the certification of border-line defectives should be reviewed after they have failed to respond to training in a suitable Approved School. These dull girls should be at an Approved School specially set aside for them because within their own group they feel less inadequate and insecure, so that they have a better opportunity of becoming socially adjusted. At the same time it must be stressed that some high-grade defectives are capable of responding to an Approved School in so far as their behaviour is no longer anti-social during the period of their committal, but remain incapable of standing on their feet when they are expected once again to take their place in the world. They conform rather than respond.

During the course of a year a number of acutely unstable, aggressive adolescent girls are committed to a Classifying Approved School and special provision is required for their suitable disposal. This type of girl is liable to outbursts of

violent behaviour which may prove dangerous to the staff and to other girls in the absence of adequate facilities. At present use is made of Observation Wards and Mental Hospitals, but these Institutions are unsuitable for this type of case. Other girls in this category are sent to existing Approved Schools only to break down and require transfer to another school, or else appear at Court again on a more serious charge and are sent to Borstal. Apart from the beneficial effect on the girl herself it would seem more economical in both expenditure and manpower to have an Approved School set aside which could deal with the problem.

Of even greater importance is the removal of this type of girl from the society of other girls on whom she has an adverse effect. From the clinical point of view these girls fall in two groups. There are those who can be clearly defined as Psychopathic Personalities of the predominantly aggressive type, and there are others who, though manifesting acute behaviour disorders, are suffering from emotional difficulties arising from their environment rather than from an inherent personality defect. These groups, as one would expect, overlap so that cases occur in which there is an inborn defect with superimposed emotional and environmental factors. The importance of differentiating these two groups is a prognostic one, for where the acute anti-social behaviour is based on an inherent personality defect, that is to say in the psychopathic group, the prognosis is extremely bad. This type of girl may be so violent and aggressive in her behaviour that she must be segregated from the normal Approved School girl because of the harmful influence that she exerts. The second group is of rather more hopeful prognosis and includes a proportion of girls who would benefit from psychiatric treatment in a school where disruptive and aggressive conduct could be controlled and where habitual absconding would be prevented. These girls are neither psychotic nor certifiable, yet manifest acutely aggressive behaviour disorders. They are not mentally ill in the sense that they need mental hospital treatment nor, on the other hand, are they merely delinquent. It seems, therefore, that some provision is necessary which is neither an existing type of Approved School nor a Mental Hospital.

A follow-up of these cases shows that although removal to an Observation Ward or Mental Hospital was a necessary expedient for the safety of the girl, or for the protection of others, the great majority derive no lasting benefit. In the course of time they break down in schools and either become more criminal in their tendencies, ending at Borstal or in prison, or else become more mentally ill and are dealt with under the Lunacy Acts. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no clear-cut dividing line between those who are mentally sick and those who are delinquent.

Occasionally an adolescent girl is received who appears to be in a pre-psychotic state or displays a transient psychotic episode of a schizophrenic type. One would agree that behaviour of this kind is of less sinister significance during adolescence than in an older age group, the episodes usually being brief and transient. Mental Hospital observation is called for and often disproves a diagnosis of schizophrenia. It would be interesting to know what percentage of adolescents who have episodes of psychotic-like behaviour have a schizophrenic denouement in the next decade of their lives.

Work at the Classifying School has confirmed previous observations that there is no essential difference between those girls needing Care or Protection, those charged by their parents as being Beyond Control and those who have been

committed for offences which, in the case of an adult, are punishable by imprisonment. The appearance in Court has been the culminating event in an unsatisfactory situation which may date back over several years. Adolescence is often the testing point where character weakness is revealed, if only because of the increased social demands made at that time. In assessing the girl, the reason for committal is unimportant compared with appraisal of the whole upbringing and home background. A high percentage of the histories of these girls reveals a broken home, unsatisfactory parent-child relationship or some other cause of emotional deprivation, so that a sense of social responsibility has failed to develop. As the foundations of social adjustment lie in the emotional relationships in the home, any current trend which diminishes parental responsibility is to be deplored and the cry that the State shall provide is to be discouraged. The parents must have the means, both spiritual and material, with which to make provision for their children. There is often a lack of adequate training and an absence of moral standards in the home. A general lowering of moral and ethical standards in the population, not necessarily amounting to contravention of the law, causes an increase of juvenile delinquency. This may be compared with the carrier rate in epidemiology; that is to say, those who do not themselves openly manifest criminal or anti-social behaviour may nevertheless transmit the social disease to others. When the carrier rate or the absence of adequate ethical standards reaches a certain point an epidemic breaks out.

It is essential that all those with authority over juvenile delinquents should co-operate. If the attack on delinquency is to be successful, it will be through the combined efforts of all those members of society who concern themselves with this grave social problem, whether they be associated with the Church, the Law, Education or Medicine. Psychiatry is but one weapon which can be used in conjunction with others in certain cases. Sometimes psychiatric treatment is indicated, more often the psychiatrist may be able to offer some advice in the handling of a difficult girl from his knowledge of the emotional problems involved.

The attitude of the girls to their committal has already been referred to, viz., that they often regard it as a prison sentence. Unfortunately they are not alone in maintaining this attitude; misconceptions about Approved Schools are not lessened by comments sometimes made by persons in responsible positions. Too often a girl is sent to an Approved School far too late; committal is applied as a last resort. The picture should be viewed as a whole from the beginning. Probation or a hostel should not be used in the case of first offenders where knowledge of the girl's personality or background indicates that these measures are likely to fail. Too often we see girls who are irreversibly set on an anti-social road who might have responded to an Approved School had they been committed two or three years previously. While it is a serious matter to take a child or adolescent away from home, this cannot be the case where the parents are incapable of making adequate provision for the emotional needs of the children. More research is needed to improve the selection of cases likely to respond to probation so that important months are not wasted. An enquiry is also needed into the efficacy of the Fit Person Order. At the Classifying School we only see the failures, but, judging from the Records of Information, it seems that Fit Person Orders are made in cases where the Local Authority has no adequate provision to offer. If girls are to be committed earlier it is essential not only that

public opinion should be informed as to the nature of an Approved School but also that there must be a wide variety of school. An Approved School is not a prison; it should provide a secure and stable environment where a girl may receive the educational and moral training of which she has been previously deprived.

But although the idea that an Approved School is the reformatory of a bygone age is a common misconception, one sometimes encounters criticisms to an opposite effect, namely, that Approved Schools are altogether so pleasant and delightful that adolescents deliberately try to secure committal. If this be the case it is a sad reflection on their home conditions. Nevertheless, Approved Schools must be good homes where children can get affection and security because the majority of the children come from discordant homes where they have been neglected and unwanted. It is surely a duty that society owes to the young to make such provision for them as will eradicate the wish to be delinquent and not merely provide custodial care which will prevent a recurrence of delinquent behaviour by instilling fear of its consequences.

CHRISTOFER LACK, M.A., M.R.C.S., D.P.M.

*Psychiatric Physician, Magdalen Hospital Classifying School;
Psychiatrist, King Edward Memorial Hospital, Ealing.*

THE DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY—UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

In March, 1951, the University of Melbourne established a Department of Criminology. Not unexpectedly, in its first year it has produced more plans than achievements; but as it is composed differently from any other such University Department in the British Commonwealth, a note on its structure, functions, and aims may be of interest.

Composition. The University, regarding criminology as a derivative science demanding inter-faculty collaboration, selected members of the Department so as to combine the knowledge of the lawyer, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the sociologist.

The Chairman, Mr. Justice Barry, is a Judge of the Supreme Court who has shown, in his earlier practice and whilst on the Bench, a degree of understanding of the problems of criminology rarely found in a distinguished lawyer.

The Vice-Chairman, Professor Oeser, is Head of the Department of Psychology. Also on the Board governing the Department are the following: Professor Paton, the Vice-Chancellor; Professor Zelman Cowen, Dean of the Law Faculty; Miss Ruth Hoban, Head of the Department of Social Studies; Dr. Donald Buckle, a practising psychiatrist and Senior Lecturer in Psychopathology; and Dr. Norval Morris, Senior Lecturer in Law, who acts as Secretary to the Department.

Not only does the Board thus draw together the principal relevant disciplines, but it is assured of the generous co-operation of four senior civil servants who administer the police, the prisons, and the institutions for neglected and delinquent children. These gentlemen, together with the Government Medical Officer, will keep the Department in touch with the realities of administrative problems by attending meetings of the Board in an advisory capacity.

The functions of the Department can be conveniently, if artificially, divided into teaching, research, law reform, and clinical practice.

Teaching. Courses of lectures in criminology are given to all Law students in their final year, to Psychology students as part of their course in Psychopathology, and to Social Studies students. The University has further approved the establishment of Criminology as a general Arts subject occupying two lectures and one demonstration per week throughout the year. This subject will be available only to students who have passed Psychology, Part I; it will form an integral part of the Law, Social Studies and Arts courses.

It is planned to develop courses for Probation Officers, for those working in penal institutions, and for other field workers. Here, as in the development of Criminology as an Arts subject, the Department is looking to the assistance of Professor Albert Morris, Dean of Sociology at the Boston College of Liberal Arts, who will spend the ensuing academic year with this Department as Visiting Fulbright Professor.

Research. The Department's main research project is an investigation into the supposedly reformatory pressures brought to bear on children in the Victorian Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents. This project is planned to occupy several years and will require considerable research assistance. It is hoped that it will eventually begin to remedy the paucity of knowledge concerning the psychological and sociological pressures on juvenile delinquents in re-educative centres. After this project was instituted, the Department was pleased to note the stress laid on the need for this type of research by Bovet in the W.H.O. Monograph on the 'Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency'.

A necessary background to any research is a detailed understanding of the existing statistical material available in the community being studied. Throughout last year, therefore, the Department employed a research assistant who, under the Secretary's supervision, conducted a critical survey of Police, Judicial, and Criminal Statistics in Victoria. The final report has already proved of practical value to a Committee appointed by the Minister of Immigration to enquire into crime amongst immigrants.

As well as this fundamental information, the Department is accumulating, with the Attorney-General's co-operation, a library of the transcripts of the evidence, directions to juries, and judgments, in all criminal trials where transcripts are made.

This type of information of statistics and on local criminal trials, together with the Department's constant endeavour to keep in touch with developments in research and practice in criminology in England, Scandinavia, and the United States, should prepare the ground in which research may flourish.

Law Reform. The formation of the Department created considerable public interest, and through the newspapers, in periodicals, over the radio, and before many societies, the aims and views of the Department have already found expression. These views have tended to advocate substantial changes in the penal system. This is attributable less to the reforming zeal of the members of the Department than to the fact that the Victorian penal system has stood for years in need of legislative reform to bring it up to date with even accepted English practice. Nevertheless, the public statement of this fact has tended to generate some suspicion of the Department on the part of certain civil servants. It is hoped that this will decrease as the Department continues to function unsensationally and sincerely.

The lawyers in the Department are particularly interested in co-operating in

the proposed preparation of a Criminal Code. Codes have already been adopted in three States of Australia—Queensland (1901), Western Australia (1902 and 1913) and Tasmania (1924)—and there is considerable support for such a development in this State.

Clinical Practice. Efficient teaching and research in criminology require some regular clinical contact with the delinquents. Mr. Justice Barry in his work at the courts, and Dr. Donald Buckle in his private practice and as Honorary Psychiatrist to a hospital whose Psychiatric Out-patient Clinic deals extensively with delinquents attending for treatment as a condition of a probation order, are both kept in touch with the personal realities of delinquency. The other members of the Department are not so fortunate in this respect, and the Department has had to devise an antidote to this potential weakness.

In association with an organization of boys' clubs, the Department will be involved in running a probation hostel for boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. It will be a typical probation hostel, except that greater efforts than are usual will be made to create a therapeutic environment for the boys, and that senior students and staff from the University will be actively engaged in the life of the hostel.

This contact with the practical exigencies of running an institution should be reflected in the quality of the Department's teaching and research, and, if fortune favours us, we may perhaps not do too much harm to the delinquents themselves.

NORVAL MORRIS,
Department of Criminology, University of Melbourne.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S STUDY COMMISSION ON THE DEVIATED CRIMINAL SEX OFFENDER

(State of Michigan. 1951. Pp. xi + 245. Price not stated.)

The Report of the Study Commission appointed by the Governor of the State of Michigan illustrates some of the virtues and many of the defects inherent in attempted research by Commissions, Royal or otherwise. The trouble with Commissions is that, in order to establish their authority, it is customary to appoint a number of persons who have no doubt achieved distinction in their own particular sphere but are as a rule undistinguished by their research capacities. Having collected 'evidence' of widely varying quality, they then proceed to formulate recommendations which reflect the highest common factor of common sense and preconception existing amongst their members.

Not that their labours are necessarily fruitless. This Michigan Commission, for example, included a small number of psychiatrists, a sociologist or two of repute, a Ph.D. who is also a Professor of Educational Psychology and a number of penal officers of varying rank; and it has assembled, in almost prolix detail, a great deal of useful information, for the most part concerning institutionalized sex-offenders. All this deserves a place on the reference shelves of students of sexual disorder. Even the recommendations arrived at manifest a liberal attitude to the problem, including a timely emphasis on the need for research.

But this, however well presented, can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as a 'study'; and, in fact, the sections on etiology are quite frankly poverty-

stricken. One searches in vain for observations that might throw some light on a complex and obscure problem. Hence the recommendations, however well-intentioned, cannot be regarded as other than empirical if not indeed socially opportunist. Heaven knows even distinguished psychiatrists have not established a lien on sound judgment regarding sexual problems; many indeed have wrecked their reputation for common sense in their attempts to do so. But at least they are likely to be nearer to the heart of the matter than those fact-finders who set about studying sex-problems with a criminological bias, and a readiness to regard some penological measures as inevitable. The fact that sexual disorder, subject to the need for public safety, a matter concerning which the disciplined sociologist and statistician have much of value to say, is a problem the roots of which we are only beginning to grasp, has not yet been understood by the elected social administrator.

Let us not, however, be ungrateful to the Governor of the State of Michigan. Convinced of the necessity to educate the public in these matters, his Mental Health Department has published a small companion booklet by Dr. Samuel W. Hartwell described as a 'Citizens' Handbook of Sexual Abnormalities'.¹ This, in fact, constituted the author's contribution to the work of the Commission's Committee on Education. It serves its purpose admirably, and, since from the medico-legal point of view it is even more urgent to enlighten administrative authorities than to instruct the general public on sex problems, it is to be hoped that Dr. Hartwell's little work will be studied with care by the other members of the Commission, not forgetting the Governor, to whose enlightened action the Commission owed its inception.

E. G.

REPORT ON THE FIRST SESSION OF THE ALCOHOLISM SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE
EXPERT COMMITTEE ON MENTAL HEALTH

(Geneva: World Health Organization. Agent in U.K.: H.M.
Stationery Office. 1951. Pp. 24. Price 1s. 3d.)

This is a useful, if somewhat pedestrian, report, dealing mostly with clinical stages in the development of alcoholism, and recommending its early treatment at dispensaries 'conveniently attached to general hospitals'. Although the need for psycho-therapeutic handling is indicated, the main stress is laid on pharmacological and other medical approaches. What the Report utterly fails to convey to the unoriented reader is the paramount importance of psychological factors, both developmental and immediate. It is to be hoped that in any future reports on the subject the Expert Committee of the World Health Organization will do better than this.

E. G.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Memoranda received from Commonwealth countries

(London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1951. Pp. 56. Price 6s.)

In November, 1949, the Royal Commission addressed to, amongst others, the Governments of Commonwealth countries, a questionnaire dealing with the law of murder, the punishment of murder, conditions of detention, insanity in

¹ State of Michigan. 1950. Pp. viii + 71.

relation to criminal responsibility, and methods of execution. The present memorandum gives a methodical survey of the replies, supplemented in most instances with some statistical tables.

Apart from its uses as a convenient source of reference, this is a melancholy document. Alone amongst the Commonwealth countries, Queensland and New Zealand achieve the honourable distinction of being uncompromisingly opposed to capital punishment. Concerning the issue of insanity and criminal responsibility it is obvious that the archaic traditions enshrined in the M'Naghten Rules have thoroughly permeated all Commonwealth countries. It is a sobering reflection that Britain, now moving timidly in the van of criminological progress, should have been responsible for spreading so widely and for so long these unimaginative and legalistic formulæ.

E. G.

HOME LEAVE AND TRAINING IN MOTHERCRAFT FOR PRISONERS

I. The Prison Commissioners have recently made use of their power under the new Prison Rule No. 84A to authorize a prisoner to be temporarily absent from the prison on parole. Under the new scheme it is possible to release a prisoner for a very short period to allow him to visit a dying relative. Of greater practical significance will be the second scheme which allows certain selected star prisoners serving sentences of more than three years (men) or three years or more (women) to go on home leave giving them five clear days at home. The leave may be taken not earlier than four months and not later than two months before the earliest date of discharge and it is at present confined to the central prisons at Leyhill and Wakefield (men) and Askham Grange and Aylesbury (women). The time on leave counts towards the sentence. The object of the scheme is twofold: 'to contribute to the restoration of the prisoner's self-confidence by placing trust in him under conditions of complete freedom, and to give the prisoner an opportunity before his final release from prison to make contacts with prospective employers, to deal with domestic problems and to renew his home ties, in order to facilitate as far as possible his reabsorption into society'.

This is a welcome and progressive move, and the next Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners will no doubt show in how many cases the scheme has been applied and how it has worked.

II. Another interesting innovation is the special training scheme in mothercraft which has been introduced in the women's prison at Birmingham for women serving sentences of three months or more for neglect of, or cruelty to, their children (*The Times* of March 8, 1952). This is, in a way, the logical conclusion from the report, made by the Governor of Holloway Prison and published in the Commissioners' Annual Report for 1949, into the personal circumstances of eighty-nine such women prisoners which revealed the great need for patient and persistent instruction of this type of offender.

H. M.

A SURVEY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AREAS IN A SMALL CITY: GEORGETOWN, BRITISH GUIANA

Georgetown is the capital of British Guiana. Its population, approximately 80,000, comprises various races and racial mixtures, including Negroes, Europeans,

Chinese and East Indians. The survey was started by Mr. Henry A. Cameron, B.Sc., in 1949, and completed in April, 1950. It was part of a larger research on juvenile delinquency.

The addresses of all the juveniles who appeared before the Court in the years 1947-49, altogether 900 cases, were spotted on a map of the city and the areas of high delinquency rate determined. The analysis revealed the following characteristics of delinquency areas:

- (a) Buildings used jointly for commerce and residence.
- (b) Poor state of repair; congestion.
- (c) Presence of centres of commercial recreation.
- (d) Population comprising mainly lower strata of society.

Delinquency areas did not seem to be related to administrative and political division of the city.

Abstracted from Mr. Cameron's Report by T. GRYGIER.

INTERNATIONAL COURSE IN CRIMINOLOGY

Under the auspices of the International Society of Criminology and with the support of the Governments of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Turkey, and the French Union, and in co-operation with the Centre International de l'Enfance and the French Council for the Co-ordination of the International Congresses of Medical Sciences, a course will be held in Paris from September 15 to November 1, 1952. The course will be under the direction of Professor Georges Heuyer, Professor of Child Psychiatry in the University of Paris, and the subject will be 'The Medico-Psychological and Social Examination of Delinquents'. Lectures will be held at the Centre International de l'Enfance, Château de Longchamps, and the inscription fee is 5,000 francs. Students are asked to write to the Secretariat of the International Society of Criminology, 28 avenue de Friedland, Paris 8e.

REVIEWS

LES GRANDS SYSTÈMES PÉNITENTIAIRES ACTUELS. (TRAVAUX ET RECHERCHES DE L'INSTITUT DE DROIT COMPARÉ DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS. VOL. VI). Edited by Louis Huguency, H. Donnedieu de Vabres, Marc Ancel. (Paris: Recueil Sirey. 1950. Pp. ix + 448. Price not stated.)

In most European countries the end of the war and the restless years which followed had notable effects on the prison systems and, often by necessity rather than by deliberate choice, led to the application of new penal and corrective methods. A comparative survey of present-day prison systems on a broad international basis is therefore most welcome. The Institute for Comparative Law at the University of Paris, which has always given criminal law a distinguished place among its activities, is to be congratulated on the successful performance of this task. Between 1947 and 1949 papers were read and discussed at the Institute by Professor Cornil (Belgium), Professor Avila (Chile), M. Amor (France), Mr. L. W. Fox (England), Mr. Racz (Hungary), Dr. F. Hooykaas (Holland), Professor J. Graven (Switzerland) and Professor V. Solnar (Czechoslovakia). Reports were also submitted from Argentine, Italy, Mexico, Spain and Sweden, and further

articles contributed by French experts on Germany, Brazil, Portugal, the Soviet Union, Uruguay and the United States. All sections were finally revised and brought up to date by the end of 1949. The result is a comprehensive survey, extending to both sides of the Atlantic and penetrating the Iron Curtain.

In spite of the editors' efforts to offer a systematic whole, certain differences in outlook and presentation are inevitable and even preferable to a too rigid standardization. The papers on Czechoslovakia and Dr. Fridieff's article on the Soviet Union are brief statements of the legal structure of the penal system, while Professor Graven produces almost a textbook of eighty pages on the history of Swiss prisons and the theoretical background and practical implications of the Criminal Code of 1937. The national penal systems represented in the survey cover a wide range of standards. Mexico (Sr. Elola) with her modern Criminal Codes of 1929 and 1931, shaped in accordance with Ferri's positivistic precepts, has to struggle against enormous odds in overcrowded prisons. In the Federal prison up to eight or ten prisoners have to share one cell, only a minority has any work to perform and every prisoner capable of reading and writing has to teach at least one illiterate. At the same time Sweden (Mr. Goransson) with an era of peace and prosperity unbroken since the Napoleonic wars has become a model country in penal reform, supplementing, if not supplanting, mass treatment in closed prisons by splitting up the large numbers into small units of thirty prisoners under 'open' conditions. France, acting as hostess in this international prison rally, is represented by an article which sets an example both by frank admission of difficulties and by the emphasis laid on recent reforms of which M. Pinatel gave an impressive account in his article in the January issue of this *Journal*.

Comparative studies are not intended to discriminate between advanced and backward countries, but to follow up tendencies within the national penal systems and to put on record similarities and differences in the solutions of contemporary prison problems. Dr. Castejon wants the Spanish prison regime to be more independent of foreign influence. In the Soviet Union, the principle of individualization means primarily a discrimination according to the offender's social status. Elsewhere, however, the outward features of contemporary prison regimes have much in common. Even countries like Holland and Belgium that are conspicuous for their adherence to the system of solitary confinement have abandoned their predilection for the cellular system. Almost everywhere separation by day and night has been retained only as a regimen for short sentences, in conformity with the present French reform programme, or as a first stage in a progressive-stage system. In one form or another the latter system seems to be more widespread than one might have expected. It is to-day prevalent in France, Argentina and Switzerland; the reports on Chile and Brazil explicitly refer to Crofton's historic precedent and the latter country has even adopted his intermediate institution in the form of an agricultural colony. Conditional release has almost universally been accepted, although one would like to know more about the efficacy of after-care and supervision. Borstal has become the model for the modern Youth Prison and almost a household word beside the Continental '*prison école*'. A more recent problem is custodial differentiation with the pioneer work in 'open' prisons in the United States Federal Prison Service, in England and especially in Sweden, where 30 per cent. of the prisoners are kept under open conditions. It is difficult to ascertain what the experience has been with the conjugal visits in prisons

by which some of the South American republics have tried to solve the sexual problem. We learn from the chapter on the Argentina that in the model prison of Coronda, Santa Fé, the special cells built for this purpose have not been used; and in Brazil the whole question is still controversial, the practice being established in Rio de Janeiro and rejected in Sao Paulo. More recently, Professor Teeters (31 *Prison Journal*, 1951, p. 94 *et seq.*) received a favourable impression from the federal penitentiary at Buenos Aires, but reported that in Rio de Janeiro conjugal visiting had been suspended for some time and only recently restarted. In the field of prison labour, work for private employers regained a new appreciation as an element of reality in the artificial seclusion of the traditional prison. While in Holland work for contractors has had to be accepted as a necessity under existing economic circumstances, it is a notable feature of the reformed Swedish regime that prisoners at the last stage of their sentence are permitted to go out to work for private employers.

The legal systems of almost all the countries concerned provide for a number of different forms of deprivation of liberty, classified partly as punishments and partly as measures of public security. Almost every chapter speaks of deliberate efforts to provide a corresponding number of different modes of treatment and of difficulties in making such qualitative differences a reality. The Swiss Criminal Code of 1937 with three modes of imprisonment as legal punishments according to the amount of guilt and three measures of security according to the degree of the offender's potential danger to the community reflects the Continental doctrine of the first decades of this century. But perhaps the practical difficulties in so many countries indicate that the Swiss solution is not the last word. In the field of punishments proper, Holland had always one form of imprisonment only, England has recently abolished the time-honoured distinction between imprisonment and penal servitude, and the sections on France and Sweden put similar tendencies on record. The more we substitute for a classification of legal sanctions according to degrees of punitive hardship a differentiation according to the prisoner's probable response to certain forms of treatment, the more will the trial court be confined to determine the maximum and minimum of the imposed deprivation of liberty. The final classification becomes a function of the Executive and will primarily be a custodial differentiation between maximum, medium and minimum security establishments.

These last considerations, however, go beyond the content of this book, which remains an historical document of the transitional, post-war period, highly suggestive and informative, indeed indispensable to the student of penology. We should have been glad of a detailed index; but look forward with intense interest to the appearance of the promised second volume, furnished, we are told, with a systematic analysis of the comprehensive evidence advanced in this present issue.

M. GRÜNHUT.

THE CRIMINALITY OF WOMEN. By Otto Pollak. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1950. Pp. xxi + 180. Price \$3.50.)

It is the basic contention of this book that the amount of female crime has been greatly under-estimated by traditional opinion and that Criminal Statistics are here particularly misleading. This view is by no means new, but the author

expresses it in stronger terms than most of his predecessors have done and he argues his case ably and in many respects convincingly. While his knowledge of the existing American and Continental literature is comprehensive, English sources have been somewhat neglected.

Whereas in the first four chapters it is shown that female crime remains unreported to a far greater extent than male crime, in Chapter V an attempt is made to estimate its actual volume, and in Chapter VI the author explains why, in spite of increasing social equality of women, female crime has not yet lost its peculiar characteristics. The biological, sociological and psychological factors are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Some of the statistical data reproduced by the author, especially figures quoted from nineteenth century sources, are of doubtful scientific validity, and the author might well have treated them with greater reserve. With regard to the rôle of pregnancy as a crime-promoting factor, he admits that 'the literature does not contain any specific statistical study of an offender sample in this respect, and, therefore, it will be a task for further research to investigate the question of a correlation between pregnancy and female crime' (p. 132). The same, however, applies to many other aspects of the problem as well. A table such as No. 39, which deals with the influence of marital status, is of little value not only because, as the author realizes, it does not show the proportion of single to married women in the general population, but also because the influence of the age factor is ignored.

It is therefore in its shrewd discussion of the problem in general rather than in its constructive use of the existing criminal statistics that the undoubted value of the book lies.

H. M.

EIGHTY THOUSAND ADOLESCENTS. A Study by Staff and Students of Westhill Training College, directed and described by Bryan H. Reed. (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin. 1950. Pp. viii + 188. Price 12s. 6d.)

THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER. By T. Ferguson and J. Cunnison. (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, for Nuffield Foundation. 1951. Pp. x + 194. Price 8s. 6d.)

Our knowledge of the young delinquent remains incomplete without investigation of his leisure interests and work record. Although only the second of these two surveys attempts to provide specific information on delinquency, both of them are to be sincerely welcomed as useful contributions to the background knowledge which criminologists require.

This first study of young people in Birmingham was carried out in 1948 by the staff and students of Westhill Training College under the direction of the tutor, Bryan Reed. The method employed was an examination of the general social and industrial background of the adolescents, and of the youth organizations to which they belonged. In particular a questionnaire containing twenty questions on leisure-habits was given to a representative sample of 1,300 girls and boys. The authors admit that they are not entirely satisfied with the final selection of 1,000 questionnaires as representative of a true sample.

The second study was produced for the Nuffield Foundation by the Professor of Public Health and the Director of Social and Economic Research of the University of Glasgow. It is concerned with 1,314 boys during the period January,

1947, to January, 1950, and includes all the boys leaving school at fourteen on that particular date. The boys' work-histories form the central core around which the remainder of the study has been built up from information on their homes, health, school-records, and housing. One chapter is specially devoted to 156 of the boys who had been convicted between the ages of eight and seventeen. A comparison between the delinquents and non-delinquents confirms the general picture presented by other studies, emphasizing the effects of overcrowding in the home, of large families, of broken homes, of poor school achievement, of stop-gap and unskilled employment, of weak physique, and of the absence of membership of church and youth organization. The story is, of course, a familiar one.

Indeed, the very familiarity of the picture has led certain critics of the second study to argue that as a piece of research it is a waste of time. Such a criticism is clearly undeserved. Without entering into the weaknesses in methodology, of which perhaps the sampling method in the former, and the reliance for information on a rather miscellaneous collection of social workers in the latter, might be singled out, the fact remains that both studies are substantial contributions to our knowledge of the young worker. Both help to provide the necessary foundation on which any practical programme of social action must be based. Their findings give little ground for optimism. They disclose not only the cultural poverty of the adolescent, but also the wastage which results from society's continued failure to make better provision for the social development of its young citizens. That only 12 per cent. of the Glasgow boys were placed in their first job by the Employment Exchange is a deplorable confession, and it is in the light of this and many similar factors that delinquent behaviour must be assessed.

JOHN SPENCER.

THE ORDER OF THE COURT. By J. Dudley Pank. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1951. Pp. 191. Price 8s. 6d.)

No one who describes 'constructive punishment' as 'unmitigated piffle' or who advocates the birch 'in every case where violence is a feature of the crime' can be taken seriously. This is not a serious study of the training of boys in Approved Schools. The author has been a supervisor in only one school and many of the chapters are stories relating the exploits of absconders. These are vividly told, as are some of the character sketches.

The book does, however, show how extremely exacting and difficult is the work of reformation undertaken by the staff of the schools. Although the author states that 80 per cent. of the boys from his particular school do not get into further trouble, the official figures claim success for only 66 per cent. This unsatisfactory result may be due to courts unwisely using probation when institutional training is required and to their sending boys to schools when they are so steeped in bad habits as to make their reformation difficult. It may also be due to the present system of after care.

Somewhat wild statements are made with regard to punishment as a deterrent and the wrong impression is given that headmasters no longer have the power to cane a boy. No mention is made of Attendance Centres nor of Detention Centres, both of which are penal treatment laid down in the 1948 Criminal Justice Act. Unfortunately the latter have not yet been opened and only in four cities are there Attendance Centres.

Such inaccuracies as that the police may not wear uniform in a Juvenile Court or conclusions which are so directly contrary to the findings of the Departmental Committee on the effect of the cinema cause the reader to doubt the value of the book. The author is, however, right in urging that their responsibilities should be brought home to parents, that boys have to learn that 'crime does not pay', and that there is an urgent need for some different treatment for the persistent absconders who never remain in any school long enough to be trained. The Home Office has been constantly pressed to start, as part of an ordinary approved school, a closed house where absconders can be treated psychologically and where they can remain until they have become sufficiently stable to graduate into the open school. Merely to incarcerate young people can never educate them to face the temptations which they will have to meet when they are released on licence.

The most important task of every school is to discover the root causes of a boy's anti-social behaviour. About this the author says almost nothing.

BASIL L. Q. HENRIQUES.

GRUNDRISS DES ÖSTERREICHISCHEN STRAFRECHTS. Allgemeiner Teil, 2. Hälfte, 1.-3. Lieferung (Strafe und Sicherung). By Max Horrow. (Graz-Wien: Leykam-Verlag. 1950-51. Pp. 212.)

In post-war Continental literature on criminal law a remarkable interest is shown in comparative material. The instalments of Professor Horrow's book which are here reviewed are representative of this trend. The author is thoroughly familiar with recent developments in this country and many Continental countries. Although he is primarily concerned with Austrian substantive criminal law, many important penological problems are competently treated with a wealth of references to foreign literature: in particular fines, defamatory penalties, measures of security ('*Sichernde Massnahmen*'), recidivism and habitual crime, the sentencing policy of the criminal courts, probation and discharge on licence. When completed, the work should be of considerable value to German-speaking students far beyond the frontiers of Austria. Two minor misprints on p. 95 fn. 10 might be corrected in future editions (Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, and Probation of Offenders Act, 1907).

H. M.

HANDBUCH DER KRIMINALISTIK. By Dr. Hans Gross. Eighth edition of the 'Handbuch für Untersuchungsrichter als System der Kriminalistik'. Revised and enlarged by Professor Ernst Seelig. (Berlin and Munich: J. Schweitzer. 1944. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 214. 1951. Part II, pp. 144. Price DM 12 each Part.)

The first edition of this famous book was published in 1893. Since then, it has gone through several editions and has been translated into many foreign languages, though unlike the author's second work, the 'Kriminal-Psychologie' of 1898, not into English. In 1912, three years before his death, Hans Gross succeeded in establishing the first *Kriminalistische Institut* at the University of Graz where he was Professor of Criminal Law. This Institute has served as a model for similar

Institutes which have come into being in a number of countries in the past forty years, although the specific 'criminalistic' emphasis of the Graz Institute has not always been maintained. According to Hans Gross, *Kriminalistik* is the branch of Criminology mainly concerned with the technical aspects of crime and its detection, *i.e.*, with the work of the Criminal Investigation Departments and of the *juge d'instruction*, in German *Untersuchungsrichter*.

The first two instalments of the second volume of the new edition deal mainly with the various tricks used by criminals, with their argot (there is a new appendix on the German 'Gaunersprache'), with gypsies, superstitions, weapons, documents, etc. The chapters on dactyloscopy, foot-prints and blood stains are still to come.

The present editor, who is the Director of the Graz Institute, has brought the work up to date. The chapter on Gypsies, in particular, has been so thoroughly revised that the original text is occasionally introduced with the words 'Hans Gross reports'. Police officials in this country who are able to read the German text will no doubt derive considerable practical benefit from it.

H. M.

THE REFORM OF THE LAW. Edited by Professor Glanville Williams. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1951. Pp. 224. Price 18s.)

Professor Glanville Williams has edited a collection of a large number of suggestions for the reform of the law advanced by members of the Haldane Society (before the institution of the Society of Labour Lawyers). These recommendations, covering the whole fabric of the law, would affect the lives of all of us, and their careful consideration is entirely indispensable to any legislator or lawyer who looks to the law to fulfil the needs of a developing society.

The work aims at meeting the needs of both the layman and the lawyer. This is a fine aim; but an extremely difficult one in that law reform logically involves knowledge of the existing law, its development, its social effects (usually guess-work), its social purposes, and the possible techniques of achieving them. Though the style is lucid and the argument of polished clarity, few laymen will find this any easy work to digest except concerning those aspects of the law in which they have already taken an interest.

It is this exception that makes 'The Reform of The Law' of real importance to readers of this *Journal*, for fifty pages are devoted to detailed suggestions for changes in criminal law and procedure. Delinquency, though usually defined more widely than by mere reference to legal prohibitions, is nevertheless intimately linked with those prohibitions and the means available for their enforcement. The existing criminal law and its development is thus of inescapable interest to the student of delinquency. The suggestions for the reform of that law adumbrated in this book, though far-reaching, are carefully and unsensationally reasoned.

The book would, in my democracy, be required reading for every actual and aspiring member of parliament, and certainly for all those who, like most readers of this *Journal*, are in any way involved in the awesome task of curtailing the liberties of their fellow men.

NORVAL MORRIS.

THE CHILDREN'S VILLAGE. By Mary Buchanan. (London: The Bannisdale Press. 1951. Pp. 32 + 32 pp. photographs. Price 6s.)

Within a short compass we are given a simple, unpretentious account of the origin and development of the International Pestalozzi Children's Village in Switzerland. The ideal which has been followed gives expression at the same time to a desire to do something practical to help European refugee children and a wish to promote international understanding and good will through the contact with each other which these children enjoy in the international village. This is not just an international community. The children of each nation live in their own house under the supervision of house parents of their own nationality and in this way national characteristics and culture are preserved. It is rather in common cultural pursuits, in their play and pastimes, that they come together, and learn from each other the mutual respect and esteem, which, if all goes well, should help to banish prejudice, suspicion and hostility based on ignorance and superstition. There is no doubt that the ideal is a high and worthy one, and little doubt that the experiment is meeting with a measure of success. We are informed that one can see the gradual breakdown of national prejudices among the children of the village. As a humanitarian piece of work, and as a concrete expression of faith in a future in which international misunderstandings may be mitigated, the venture is clearly of the greatest interest, but any accurate appraisal of its place and value in promoting world peace is for the future.

W. PATERSON BROWN.

YOUR CHILD MAKES SENSE. By Edith Buxbaum. (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin. 1951. Pp. xvi + 204. Price 12s. 6d.)

This book has grown from a series of lectures and seminars on child-development held for American parents and school-teachers and is written from the standpoint of orthodox psycho-analysis. Its central thesis is that 'we can assist our children's development by the use of guidance rather than by the use of control which means imposing our ideas upon them with the help of punishment'.

In an admirable chapter on Mother and Child, Mrs. Buxbaum demonstrates the fundamental importance for subsequent mental health that an infant be cared for by one person, with whom he is able to develop a relationship of mutual affection and whose behaviour is reasonably predictable and consistent. She illustrates her account with descriptions of the institutionalized child who has lacked such a relationship, of children who have either been pushed into independence prematurely or kept dependent too long by mothers who over-identify and try either to re-live or retrospectively alter their own childhood experiences at their children's expense. The author then goes on to discuss mouth activities, aggression, toilet-training, sexual development and the relation of the child to the family and school groups, all along reasonably familiar lines. She gives numerous and clear examples of the difficulties that can arise, explains that what seems to the parents to be incomprehensible or perverse behaviour may, when viewed in the light of the child's unconscious fantasies and limited reality knowledge, nevertheless 'make sense', and discusses what the parents can do by themselves to remedy matters. Her advice is partly negative—the avoidance of punishment and coercion—and partly positive, such as the provision of a substitute for

a prescribed activity, encouraging the child to verbalize his feelings and sometimes the giving of suitable reality explanations.

The book is clearly if not always attractively written. As with all such books, one does rather wonder, however, to whom it is really addressed. On the one hand it is perhaps a little too unsystematic and discursive to be of real use as a text-book, and on the other one feels that only the general reader who is already pretty receptive to psycho-analytic doctrine will really believe much of what Mrs. Buxbaum has to say. Although there are few specific references to the problems of delinquency there is no doubt that if many children were brought up with the understanding and tolerance implicit in this book, the incidence of at least the neurotic forms of delinquency would undergo a striking decline.

W. D. G. ROBSON.

SOCIAL TRAINING FROM CHILDHOOD TO MATURITY. By Nancy Catty. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1951. Pp. viii + 103. Price 6s.)

Miss Catty, in her own words, aims 'to give the reader, untrained in psychology and ethics, a simple account of how emotions control thought and conduct, of possible ways of modifying those that are anti-social and strengthening those that are social, and thus bridging the gap between ideals and actual conduct'.

There are, I think, certain definite weaknesses about this book. The account of social-emotional development, in the early years especially, is too brief and too superficial. There is little attempt to show how later social relationships grow out of the early parent-child relationships. There is almost no reference to the growth of morality in the quite young child and the development of conscience based on the child's early conception of the models set by his parents. More especially the reader is not given examples from the writer's first-hand experience. The children referred to by Miss Catty do not come alive for the reader. Moreover, so many platitudes and generalizations hardly make the book stimulating reading.

She describes the aims and methods of social education and when she bases her opinions on her first-hand knowledge of teaching children she has many wise things to say. Children do not profit from moral talk before adolescence. Verbal training is of little or no value to the younger children. 'They must, and for the most part they do, learn to live happily with their contemporaries by being free to try out various types of conduct and therefore to experience other children's reactions to them.' From the beginning, she says, a child is 'greatly in need of a human environment in which he can feel safe', and he educates himself socially 'mainly by living with children of his own age'—a fact which Piaget established by experiment and observation.

With regard to adolescents, she stresses the importance of their active participation in communal life. In order to avoid two types of morality: that we hold verbally and that we live by, the emphasis should be put on social living and learning and practical experience should come before verbal teaching. Work should be given the adolescent which arouses interest in other people's way of living. 'If a man can also have some interest which brings him into contact with his fellows he will not only be a happier man but also a better citizen, in the sense that he will contribute more to the life of his community.'

Miss Catty makes a plea for better and more intelligent training at every stage of growth both for social and private life. It is a pity that the word 'training'

is used in the title of this book when she is at such pains to show that external compulsion or moral talks are virtually useless and 'that the best preparation for each succeeding phase of life is complete living of the previous phase, implying full emotional, intellectual and active experience'. This is, in my opinion, sound psychology. - Maladjustment and delinquency occur when such full experience is not made possible for the individual and when he is frustrated in his efforts at complete living.

AGATHA BOWLEY.

A TEXT BOOK OF PSYCHIATRY. By D. K. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie. (London: Oxford University Press. 7th Edition, 1950. Pp. xii + 740. Price 32s. 6d.)

This newly-revised edition is in a way a memorial to one of its authors whose devoted collaboration Sir David Henderson acknowledges in the preface.

It has long held a prominent place in British psychiatry and has been the *vade mecum* of all students of the subject including post-graduates working for higher degrees and diplomas in psychiatry. Matter is easily got at because of the highly formal character, and its general approach is progressive but catholic at the same time. Abundant case-studies bring to life a subject which might in virtue of its all too knitted classification become mummified.

For the purpose of this *Journal's* readers some reference must be made to the treatment of the subject of delinquency. This is, to be frank, most inadequate. Unconscious motivation is admitted on a general psycho-analytic basis, but the complete etiology is barely touched upon, such as the interlocking of unconscious factors and social motivations. Child psychiatry is otherwise adequately handled. The chapter on Law and Psychiatry should have been much more lengthy. A more critical examination of criminal responsibility must be expected of any textbook in 1951.

E. M.

ON DREAMS. By Sigmund Freud, translation by James Strachey. (London: Chatto and Windus. 1952. Pp. viii + 80. Price 9s. 6d.)

First published a year after the appearance of his monumental 'Interpretation of Dreams', this brochure gives a simple and readable account of Freud's theories of dream-formation and interpretation, which in most essentials have remained unmodified since that date (1901). It provides an admirable introduction for those clinical workers in delinquency who wish to be informed concerning the nature of unconscious mental function.

E. G.

DEMENTIA PRÆCOX OR THE GROUP OF SCHIZOPHRENIAS. By Eugen Bleuler, Translated by Joseph Zinkin, M.D. Forward by Nolan D. C. Lewis, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1950. Pp. vii + 548. Price 63s.)

English-speaking students of psychiatry will be grateful to Dr. Zinkin for his translation of this classical monograph. Professor Bleuler, of Zurich, who died in 1939, author of 'A Text Book of Psychiatry' (already translated into English), made outstanding contributions to psychiatry and this was his major contribution.

He was responsible for the terms 'schizophrenia' and 'ambivalence'. Schizophrenia is popularly translated as 'split mind'—a term often heard nowadays in the courts and elsewhere. He preferred this term to the old name of 'dementia præcox' and it has gained current acceptance. Professor Bleuler completed this work in 1908 with additions carrying it up to 1911. The translator has added a selected bibliography from 1911–48 to allow the reader to refer to later progress in the subject.

This bulky volume, containing an exhaustive and erudite study of every aspect of schizophrenia as known in his time, is primarily of interest to the serious student of psychiatry and to specialists in that field. It would not be recommended to those who wish to read a reasonably short modern account of schizophrenia, including the latest treatment.

The work is distinguished by an attempt to apply psycho-analytical ideas of that time to the subject, and the author expressed his indebtedness to Freud and to his co-workers, Riklin, Abraham and Jung at the Burghölzli Mental Hospital.

As one would expect in a work dealing with aberrations of mentality and behaviour, there are references to delinquency. On p. 90, for example, it is pointed out how schizophrenics, through their 'indifference to important things and their laziness', may become 'vagrants, thieves, more rarely swindlers and other types of criminals'. The author has seen two schizophrenic pyromaniacs, *i.e.* compulsively addicted to arson. He points out that although every prison has its share of schizophrenics, their number is in no way proportional to the number of those living in freedom.

S. H. LUCAS.

THE HUMAN GROUP: PATTERNS IN THE DAILY FACE-TO-FACE RELATIONSHIPS OF MANKIND. By George C. Homans. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1950. Price \$6. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Pp. xxvi + 484. Price 25s.)

The sociological study of what are now called primary groups has a very long history. The term was first used by Small in 1895 but it was Charles Horton Cooley who brought it into wide usage in the U.S.A. 'By primary groups', wrote Cooley, 'I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group . . . it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual indentity for which "we" is the natural expression.'¹

Behind much of the work in this field lay the distinction made by Toennies who saw the movement of society as one away from communal life to the impersonality of modern formal, social relations. This movement was widely understood as a 'disenchantment', a failure of the double rôle of the primary group in shaping the individual for life in a given society and in making him at home in that society.

Professor Homans continues these traditions but has departed widely from the kind of study of primary groups which goes on in contemporary America.

¹ C. H. Cooley, 'Social Organization', 1909, p. 23.

Most American students in recent times have tended to identify 'primary' with 'small'.² But the groups with which Professor Homans is concerned are all groups to which some sort of 'we-ness' is, in fact, ascribed. His concentration on them, along with his interest in the movement from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, puts them centrally in the Cooley tradition. But it is Cooley with a difference; for Professor Homans has drawn on at least five major sociological and anthropological studies to provide him with evidence on primary groups. The first of these is the famous study of the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne Works in Chicago. Here Professor Homans is concerned purely with social relations in the Bank Wiring Room.

The next study is that of a group, the Norton Street gang, described in Whyte's 'Street Corner Society', a group of more or less unemployed young men on the verge but not over the edge of criminality. Then follows a surprise; Professor Homans goes on to consider the exercise of social control through the family and other institutions in Tikopia, making use of the studies of Professor Firth. From *Gemeinschaft* in Tikopia, Professor Homans proceeds to an account of the break-up of a New England community which he calls Hilltown. Finally we move back to the small group as more usually defined, to the relations between groups in a single firm and the ways in which structural strains arise between management, technicians and workers.

These reports on the field work of others vary greatly in length and thoroughness, but in all cases where the reviewer has had access to the original material they seem admirably fair. They are all set in the matrix of a developing theoretical system which involves the discussion of such topics as the value of sociometry, of the functionalist approach in anthropology, of social control, and finally, of the part played by leadership in groups. All of this theoretical content is presented with great lucidity, although with a bias towards the use of models borrowed from the physical sciences which Professor Homans has largely inherited from Pareto. What is uncertain to the reviewer is whether there is a real integration between the field studies and the theory, or a real development in theory throughout the book. Certainly the importance of the primary group in shaping individuals, in fixing their norms, and in establishing their status in terms of these norms, is abundantly demonstrated. I am not at all clear however that, despite the intensity and honesty of his theorizing, Professor Homans has added anything to our knowledge of sociology, especially in that area of social theory which concerns the criminologists so closely: the distortion of the individual in certain social contexts, or in what we might call 'criminal primary groups'.

No one can read this well-written, modest, and jargon-free book without having their understanding and sympathy for human relations enormously expanded. This is a fine and important thing, and I think places 'The Human Group' among the five or six most important works to appear in the social sciences since 1945. Yet, despite the continual evidence of the author's desire to please and his concern with theoretical matters, the ultimate purpose is not achieved. No one has added fundamentally to sociological theory in the last ten years. Professor Homans has made one of the most gallant attempts to do so, and has produced one of the most rewarding failures.

D. G. MACRAE.

² Cf. E. A. Shils, 'A Study of the Primary Group', in 'The Policy Sciences', ed. by Lerner and Lasswell (Stanford, 1951).

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION. By Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill. Third edition. (New York: Harper and Brothers, Harper's Social Science Series. 1950. Pp. xvi + 748. Price \$4.50.)

This very comprehensive textbook deals with the subject of social disorganization in four main sections, from the point of view of the individual, the family, the community and nation, and internationally. This new edition, published nearly ten years after the second, had to be largely rewritten. The book gives much space to criminological problems to which five of its thirty-four chapters are wholly and many others in part devoted. Special attention is paid to the sex offender, to prostitution and suicide. The approach is mainly American, and while there are ample footnote references to American criminological and sociological literature, recent non-American sources have hardly been used. The chapter on sex offenders is mainly concerned with extra-marital intercourse and illegitimacy which are as a rule not offences outside U.S.A., instead of homosexuality, rape or indecent exposure. The chapters on the juvenile and the adult offender, however, are of value to students in general as clear and reasonable expositions of the problems, and the book as a whole which is very cheap for its size can be warmly recommended.

H. M.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By Raymond Firth. (London: Watts & Co. 1951. Pp. xi + 257. Price 18s.)

The first three chapters of this book give an exposition of what Professor Firth considers the scope of anthropology to be, a discussion of some of the more important concepts it uses, and an indication of the problems involved in considerations of social change, with reference to particular communities, particularly Tikopea, 'a small island of a few square miles and about 1,300 people'.

The scope of the subject is to analyse the way in which people behave in social circumstances, to study the human social processes, and to proceed to comparative studies. The ultimate aim is to 'extract' regularities, and to express them as general principles or tendencies. The importance of comparative work is stressed, and it is therefore a pity that we are not shown just how this kind of work is done, and are not given examples of the general principles which have been extracted.

The discussion of concepts is not entirely illuminating, and your reviewer must confess that the definition of the concept of structure gives rise to some bewilderment. Structure, we are told, is concerned with the ordered relations of parts to a whole, and has, as one of its characteristics, the quality of persistency. 'Groups such as clans which persist for many generations', are examples of what is meant. But Professor Firth thinks that to confine the notion of structure to this kind of group, is too narrow a definition, and he would include other types of groups, 'such as the simple family which dissolves from one generation to another'. That is to say, an attempt is made to define structure in terms both of its content and form, the former being dynamic and the latter static. Consequently we find that the form is changed by its content. Structure generates its own change.

Into the argument the notion of social organization is introduced. This, it appears, serves to maintain the structure by overcoming certain weaknesses in it, and does the opposite by reacting on the structure to change it. Thus, social organization serves the dual purpose of maintaining and altering the structure.

It is interesting, however, to note that in the chapter on social change the initial changes are brought about by factors external to it.

The error lies, perhaps, in viewing the problem too much in terms of interpersonal relationships, in terms of Pa Rangifuri's anger, which 'precipitated a decision which meant the fulfilment of structural obligations'. We doubt whether Pa Rangifuri's anger did much to alter the structure.

Following this theoretical discussion, social process and change are illustrated by reference to four aspects. Firstly, a chapter on economics sets out to show how inapplicable economic theory, as it is generally understood, is to primitive society. It is said that the difficulty is not so much theoretical, but a failure in application. Yet the anthropologist is interested not in economic means as such, but the social ends into which they are translated; he is interested in social services and not economic services. His interests, that is, are not those of an economist. Secondly, primitive art is shown, in a sociological context, as a device which serves to reinforce the bonds of the community, and as a medium through which common values are expressed. Its function is integrative. Thirdly, a discussion of morality leads to the conclusion that it is the social cement between individual means and social ends. Its function is integrative. Fourthly, an analysis of religion ends in the conclusion that it 'expresses structural arrangements of society'. It provides occasion for group assembly and reaffirms social values and solidarity. Its function is integrative. Given the concept of function, all problems become simple, since the answer is known. Used in this way, functionalism is a device to shelve, not to solve problems.

What does this integration mean? In the case of religion, for example, what it amounts to is that there is a certain consistency to be observed between the social structure and the form of religious organization. This is not very surprising, and indeed says little more than that people who live together will worship together. When this is stated in functional terms, however, the reader has the impression that religion is generated, so to speak, by the structure, and that its explanation and justification lie in this fact. If this is so, if, that is to say, religion and social structure are geared in this way, then a change in one will be followed by a change in the other. Yet, although half Tikopea has been Christianized, we are not told what structural changes have resulted from this. Further, one cannot agree that because members of a group gather together, an occasion is provided for the expression of solidarity. One of the features of large gatherings is the dissensions that arise, and what matters most is not who is there, but who is absent. A sound case could be made to show that gatherings do not express solidarity, but reveal the cleavages in a group. Thirdly, comparative analysis would have been so useful here. One would, for instance, like to know whether social structure and religious organizations always show a high degree of consistency, whether societies which have comparable social structures also have comparable religious organizations, whether where there is a uniformity of religion over a wide area the social structures of the various societies are typologically similar, or whether in one society there are several forms of religious organizations. Comparative work may lead to new conclusions, particularly when anthropologists come to deal with the more amorphous forms of religion.

Despite these suggested criticisms, the book is full of excellent material—the brief reference to suicide as a means for forcing people to act in a certain way, is a case in point—and is to be recommended as a useful introduction to the subject.

E. L. PETERS.

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. The Report of a Study made for the National Council on Social Work Education. By Ernest V. Hollis and Alice L. Taylor. (New York: Columbia University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1951. Pp. xiii + 422. Price 36s.)

This big volume which claims to be 'a milestone in the history of social work' and deals with such broad subjects as educational planning, the scope and status of social work, professional training of social workers, and 'translating this report into action'—finds no space for delinquency. This important field is dismissed in one short paragraph which says: 'The field of delinquency and crime, particularly in regard to probation and parole work and work with the courts, has not attracted social workers as practitioners or researchers to any significant degree.' The authors are perspicacious enough to notice some 'signs that this position is undergoing a change'.

T. GRYGIER.

JUSTICE IN MAGISTRATES' COURTS. By Frank J. Powell. (London: Pitman. 1951. Pp. xi + 212. Price 16s.)

Magistrates, both stipendiary and lay, and all concerned in any way in the work of Magistrates' Courts have now plenty of books from which they can learn how the work of these courts should be conducted. This latest book is by the magistrate at the Clerkenwell Court. It 'includes the substance of lectures', a fact that probably explains the somewhat colloquial style. Mr. Powell sympathizes with modern ideas, but with reservations. Thus on the subject of psychiatric enquiry and treatment he writes:

'Psychological treatment [for juvenile cases] has proved to be of benefit in some cases, but they form a small part of the total number of cases brought in the courts. . . . It is employed with advantage at approved schools.

The use of psychiatric treatment is not, however, confined to children and young persons. The Governor of Wakefield Prison has reported that such treatment has been employed with marked success in prison. Psychiatric treatment is not the cure for all evils, it is merely one form of treatment suitable to a few special cases.

There is, unfortunately, reason to fear that some psychologists put more extraordinary ideas into a child's head than they expel—to the permanent injury of the child.'

Mr. Powell will evoke much sympathy in his criticism of the disclosure of expert reports about offenders, either to the offenders themselves or, if young, to the parents. 'What harm', he writes, 'may be done to the child by an inexperienced interpretation of the reports by the parents and by their amateurish attempts to cure the child of the complaints and defects they erroneously suppose the psychologist to have discovered.' He maintains that 'if justices were permitted to keep their own counsel about the contents of those reports and were allowed a discretion in asking such questions of the parents and child based on statements in the reports, as they thought fit, it would be much easier to preserve the dignified atmosphere usually associated with a court of law'. But there are some who will be tempted to reply that 'the dignified atmosphere' scarcely depends upon whether reports are given to the parents or not.

'Many thinking people are asking, and with reason, whether the general desire to help and reform offenders has not caused the pendulum to swing too much in favour of the law-breaker to the detriment of the law-abiding citizen.' Having written this, Mr. Powell does not make clear the extent to which he sympathizes with this view. One wonders if he has read Dr. Hermann Mannheim's book 'The Dilemma of Penal Reform', where 'the principle of less eligibility' is discussed with so much vigour.

There is also much in this book about the lack of religious teaching and some social problems. On the problem of mothers going to work the following delightful and anonymous lines are quoted:

'Bless the clean clinic which weighed me with care,
And the nursery school teacher who toothcombed my hair,
And the youth movement leaders so careworn for me,
But my mother, God bless her, she never sees me.'

CLAUD MULLINS.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett with the co-operation of John C. Spencer and E. Hall Williams.)

CRIMINOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

GEORGE B. VOLD: 'Criminology at the Crossroads', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 1951, **42**, 155-62.

The author reviews the development of criminology, commencing with the 'classical school'. He distinguishes four basic kinds of criminal types as the principal object of attention in criminological research. (1) First, as a matter of history, was the quest for a physical criminal type. (2) Negative results in the research on physical criminal type led not to the abandonment of the type theories, but to change in emphasis from physical type to mental type. (3) There followed next a shift to yet another type, that of the emotionally disordered as the focus for theory and research. (4) The proposition that the criminal type is characteristically one of social and economic disadvantage. As regards the future he points to the more difficult problem of how to do research on the often violent social and economic conflicts immediately related to much of our crime and corruption, a rather neglected subject up to the present.

ARNOLD M. ROSE: 'The Social Psychology of Desertion from Combat', *American Sociological Review*, 1951, **16**, 614-29.

The data for this study were collected during the last month of World War II (late March, 1945) among white American combat infantrymen fighting against the Germans in Italy. The study was carried out among a group of soldiers who were absent without leave and a control group of non-deserters from the same unit of men who had either had a mental breakdown or stayed in combat. The positive findings may be summarized: (1) The crime of desertion is a function of the situation in which it occurs. (2) A significant number of men who go A.W.O.L. from combat tend to be somewhat more neurotic than men who remain

in combat. (3) A significant number of men who go A.W.O.L. from combat have not been integrated into their units, thus reducing the support which soldiers get from their fellows. (4) There is no strong negative social sanction against going A.W.O.L. (5) There are a few minor causes of going A.W.O.L., operating only for a very small number of men, such as desire for a life of crime.

F. JAMES DAVIS: 'Crime News in Colorado Newspapers', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1952, **57**, 325-30.

The study was designed to test two hypotheses: (1) that there is no consistent relationship between the amount of crime news in Colorado newspapers and the state crime rates, and (2) that public opinion about Colorado crime trends reflects trends in the amount of newspaper coverage rather than in actual Colorado crime rates. The findings of the study supported the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis, which was tested by the use of an opinion poll, was only partially supported by the findings of the research. The evidence indicates the need for further research.

AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD: 'Suicide and Crime in Folk and in Secular Society', *American Journal of Sociology*, 1952, **57**, 331-8.

In this study an examination is made of the relationship of rates of suicide and crime to a hypothetical folk-secular continuum extending through states on the national level and local areas even within a single city. It is assumed that indices of urbanization, industrialization, non-membership in churches, and non-nativity by states, would be indicative of the extent to which their respective populations feel the impacts of a secular society or culture.

The data seem to show that the secular, especially upper-class, society is more given to suicide, and depressed folk society resorts more to crime, both when studied by states and by cities.

RICHARD M. SNODGRASSE: 'Crime in the Constitutional Human', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 1951, **42**, 18-52.

This paper was a contribution to the International Congress of Criminology in Paris, September, 1950. Its aim was to survey the extent to which American investigators continue to rely on constitution, especially body build, and other morphological traits, in the study of crime causation. The period involved is from about the beginning of World War II to the present time. A very full bibliography is included. The author comments on the somewhat conflicting results obtained from American studies of constitutional factors in crime. He concludes by emphasizing Reckless's recommendation that Hooton's data be audited and the study partly redone in order to check and validate its findings. Any new large scale studies should be preceded by a 'pilot' study in order to check sampling and various techniques of collecting data. Additional fields of enquiry, such as nutrition and genetics, should be included.

'The Observation of Minors Appearing before Juvenile Courts', *International Child Welfare Review*, 1951, **5**, 128-48.

An account of the opening paper by Dr. L. Bovet and of the subsequent discussion at a conference held at Roehampton, London, in March, 1951. The

findings of the conference emphasized that action in respect of juvenile delinquents could properly be taken only in the light of thorough knowledge of the individual; this should be available before any legal or administrative decision is taken or educational measures applied. Observation must aim at giving a complete picture of the individual and at embodying in a prognosis the main factors effecting his future and his potentialities for re-education. Good organization of child welfare requires three forms of observation: open, semi-institutional and institutional, each having its own particular value and use.

J. C. S.

J. C. ARNOLD: 'The Royal Commission on Capital Punishment', *The Solicitor*, (November, December) 1951 and (January) 1952, **18**, 261-2, 280-2; **19**, 21-3.

Here are three short articles containing a convenient summary of the evidence given before the Royal Commission on behalf of the police, by representatives of the Association of Chief Constables and the Police Federation, and on behalf of the judges, by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Goddard, and by Mr. Justice Humphreys, Lord Justice Denning, and Mr. Justice Byrne.

E. H. W.

LORD CHORLEY: 'Reason and the Problem of Punishment', *Rationalist Annual*, 1952, 24-32.

A broad historical survey of the development of theories and methods of punishment shows how difficult it is to get a rational solution of this great social problem. In modern investigations into the causes of crime more and more importance is attached to the mental element in the offender. The report on the investigation by the Medical Research Council, published in 1932, led to the establishment of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency. Open prisons, 'classification' of prisoners, Home Office Approved Schools, and Borstal Training Centres represent an attempt to handle crime on rational lines.

P. W. TAPPAN: 'Sociological Motivations of Delinquency', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, (March) 1952, **108**, 680-4.

J. WATSON: 'Juvenile Delinquency', *Medico-Legal Journal*, 1951, **194**, 121-9. (Discussion.)

URSULA RIDLEY: 'The Proper Attitude Towards Crime', *National and English Review*, (January) 1952, **138**, 20-4.

R. BENON: 'Le "Congrès de Criminologie"; criminalité et responsabilité', *Concours Médical*, (July 28) 1951, **73**, 2717-8.

D. E. J. MACNAMARA: 'Value of Technical Police Training in the Prevention of Crime and Delinquency', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, (July-August) 1951, **42**, 262-9.

W. R. B.

CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

SIDNEY L. HALPERIN: 'A Study of the Personality Structure of the Prisoner in Hawaii', *Journal of Clinical and Experimental Psychopathology*, 1951, **12**, 213-21.

During 1948-49 all newly-admitted prisoners to the Oahu (Territorial) Prison in Hawaii were examined by means of the Rorschach, Wechsler Bellevue and Bender Gestalt tests. All prisoners were also interviewed and their social history taken. The study covers various racial groups: Hawaiian, part Hawaiian, Japanese, Caucasian, Puerto Rican, Filipino, Portuguese, and others. It notes striking differences in the incidence of crime in these groups and also some differences in Rorschach personality profiles. Other data concerned Rorschach profiles for various types of crime, the mean chronological age of prisoners of various races, the nature of their disorders, etc. It is concluded that the whole group should be considered psychopathic, but on the other hand the use of the diagnostic label of psychopathic personality is considered unnecessary.

T. GRYGIER.

E. C. ROSENOW and O. F. ROSENOW: 'Influence of Streptococcal Infections on the Compulsive Behavior of Criminals', *Postgraduate Medicine*, (November) 1951, **10**, 423-32. (Five tables; figure; comments and summary; 17 references.)

From a bacteriological and serological study of prisoners at the Ohio State Penitentiary, Columbus, the tentative conclusions are drawn that incorrigibility, morbid compulsions, and other abnormal behaviour may be due in part to a specific neurotropic type of streptococcal infection or intoxication. If cutaneous reactions to thermal antibodies are of diagnostic value in such cases, they may provide a means of assessing individual fitness for parole. Passive and active immunization with specific streptococcal antibody and antigen may prove of value in diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of recurrences of infection.

M. BACHET and Mlle. FLEURY: 'Rapport sur l'annexe psychiatrique des prisons de Fresnes', *Revue Pénitentiaire et de Droit Pénal*, (July-September) 1951, p. 75. (Reprint.)

The report covering the first nine months of the Annexe's existence in its present form (February-November, 1950) surveys the accommodation available, the method of interrogating detainees, medical examination, hospitalization for observation, familial enquiries, the problem of North Africans, and the supervision provided. The section on statistics shows the incidence among detainees of encephalopathy in childhood, of juvenile delinquency, of previous psychiatric treatment, and such treatment among members of their families; the incidence and influence of alcoholism; and the level of education reached. The intellectual level and mental deterioration are studied by various tests, including projection tests. Further sections deal with the importance of bibliographical research in criminological psychiatry, the reasons why narco-analysis is not used at the Annexe, electroencephalographical studies, the attitude adopted by the psychiatric staff towards the detainee, and the therapeutic possibilities.

The principal facts emerging from the nine months' experience and the statistics are: The body of detainees is formed of: (1) A nucleus permanently characterized

by psychic anomaly and more or less perverted behaviour since childhood, who are the worst cases of recidivism or of impulsive crimes. (2) In addition a mass of subjects whose psychic anomalies are often, though not always, less obvious, or even inapparent, who commit either occasional crimes, or commit them at increasing intervals. Among these there is little recidivism so that repeated convictions do not interfere with a more or less normal social life.

- N. THORNTON: 'The Relation between Crime and Psychopathic Personality', *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, (July-August) 1951, **42**, 199-204. (Six references.)

The concept of 'psychopathic personality' is variously defined, interpreted, and understood. By the term the author understands a particular kind of characterological or temperamental make-up, characterized by diffuse symptoms belonging neither to the sphere of neurosis nor to that of psychosis, and by an apparent absence of common moral and ethical sensibility. Psychopathic personalities are not the only defective personality-types capable of committing major crimes.

- J. DELAY *et al.*: 'L'électroencéphalographie chez les délinquants adultes', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, (January) 1952, **110**, ann., t. **i**, 67-71. (Figure; conclusion; 13 references; discussion.)
- A. LANGE LÜDDEKE: 'Zur Frage der Entmannung von Sittlichkeitsverbrechern', *Nervenarzt*, (October 20) 1951, **22**, 371-3. (Three tables; summary; reference.)
- M. BACHET: 'The Concept of Encéphaloses Criminogènes (Criminogenic Encephalosis)', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, (October) 1951, **21**, 794-9. (Conclusion; 21 references.)
- F. K. GRAHAM *et al.*: 'Aggression as a Function of the Attack and the Attacker', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, (October) 1951, **46**, 512-20. (Table; 4 figures; summary; 11 references.)
- M. JEFFREY: 'Crime and Amnesia', *Medical Press*, (December 12) 1951, **226**, 583-7. (Thirty-one references.)

W. R. B.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS

- J. D. HOLZBERG and R. POSNER: 'The Relationship of Extrapunitiveness on the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study to Aggression in Overt Behavior and Fantasy', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, (October) 1951, **21**, 767-79. (Eight tables; summary and conclusions; appendix; 12 references.)

The Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study is not related to aggressiveness in overt behaviour, but is a measure of the presence of aggression in the fantasy life of the individual.

- G. SACERDOTI: 'Il test "tsedek" del Baruk nello studio della personalità dei minori delinquenti', *Revista Sperimentale di Freniatria*, (September 30) 1951, **75**, 341-9. (Summary; 10 references.)

W. R. B.

GEORGE H. WEBER: 'Psychologist in the Training School', *Focus*, 1952, **31**, No. 1, 7-11.

The work of the psychologist at the Kansas Boys Industrial School, Topeka, is described. Tests given are: Wechsler Bellevue Intelligence Scale, Word Association Test, Rorschach Test, Thematic Apperception Test, and B.R.L. Sorting Test. The psychologist provides individual and group treatment under supervision of a psychiatrist.

T. GRYGIER.

CRIMINAL LAW

'Criminal Capacity in Children', *The Solicitors' Journal*, (December 15), 1951, **95**, 795.

The writer of this brief article takes to task the legal correspondent of a Sunday newspaper who recently wrote to the effect that the principles of the law relating to the criminal capacity of children were not observed in the juvenile courts except in comparatively few cases. The law presumes that a child between the age of eight and fourteen is incapable of forming the intention to do wrong, and requires strong evidence of a mischievous discretion on the part of the infant before he can be made criminally responsible. The writer explains that 'the juvenile court does not have to enter into a prolonged examination of each child's mind and mental processes to find out if he has malice, revenge, craft and cunning. The circumstance that he waited for the assistant's back to be turned before taking something from the counter and then hid it or that he told lies when questioned or ran away from the police will generally suffice to show that he knew he was doing wrong.' The position is well explained in Halsbury's 'Laws of England', Vol. 9, p. 18: 'Knowledge that he was doing what was wrong cannot be presumed from the mere commission of the act, but may be proved by the circumstances attending the act and the manner in which it was done.' The writer suggests that the statement in Clarke Hall and Morrison on 'Children', 3rd edn., p. 58, that 'in practice, it will be found that the child of average intelligence shows a capacity of knowing good from evil', is borne out by the experience of the juvenile courts. It would be interesting to know whether this is so. The writer concludes by saying that there is little reason to suppose that the law is not correctly interpreted and applied throughout the country. He does not discuss, however, the broader question whether children under fourteen *should* be dealt with in the criminal courts.

E. H. W.

P. A. H. BAAN: 'L'Information psychiatrique du juge', *Revue de Droit Pénal et de Criminologie*, (December) 1951, p. 13. (Reprint.)

W. R. B.

MENTAL HEALTH

S. R. HATHAWAY and E. D. MONACHESI: 'The Prediction of Juvenile Delinquency Using the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, (December) 1951, **108**, 469-73.

This is an easily administered basic research design for objective evaluation of mental hygiene and other programmes aiming to prevent delinquency.

R. S. BANAY: 'The Disciplining of Delinquents', *Nervous Child*, 1951, **92**, 163-6.

R. HARTOGS: 'Discipline in the Early Life of Sex-Delinquents and Sex-Criminals', *Nervous Child*, 1951, **92**, 167-73. (Four case-reports; 6 references.)

N. BLACKMAN: 'Medical Responsibility for Juvenile Delinquency', *Postgraduate Medicine*, (December) 1951, **10**, 499-503. (Summary; 14 references.)

W. R. B.

TREATMENT AND PENOLOGY

JAMES V. BENNETT: 'Blueprinting the New Youth Corrections Program', *Federal Probation*, 1951, **15**, No. 3, pp. 3-7.

In an address before the Judicial conference for the Fifth Circuit, New Orleans, the Director of the United States Bureau of Prisons discusses the present facilities of the Federal penal and correctional system and the training and treatment involved. In particular he emphasizes the new tools in the hands of the Court as the result of the New Federal Youth Corrections Act passed unanimously by Congress in September, 1950. This legislation, which applies to persons under twenty-two, was evolved from a study originally initiated by the American Law Institute. Its terms are completely discretionary, and the judge may use the procedures as he sees fit. When the youth is committed, he is placed in a classification centre, and a report is sent to the director of the Bureau of Prisons at the end of the study period. The latter in turn recommends a programme of treatment to the Youth Corrections Division to the Board of Parole. The conditional release of all offenders and their unconditional discharge rests exclusively with the Division. The new procedure will be made effective as soon as the necessary arrangements are complete, which it is hoped will be by the Autumn of 1952.

J. C. S.

'Corrective Training', by an Ex-Trainee, *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, (January 5) 1952, **116**, 3-4.

This is an interesting account of the operation of the system of corrective training at Wakefield Prison, written by an ex-trainee, and vouched for by a probation officer.

E. H. W.

JOSEPH A. SHELLY: 'Probation for the Drug Addict', *Focus*, 1952, **31**, No. 1, 1-6.

The difficulties of treating drug addicts are discussed. It is suggested that probation can be useful as it can deal with the problem through 'personality rebuilding'. The term 'cure' should be limited in use to the state of regained self-control.

T. GRYGIER.

K. E. ROSE: 'Personality Structure and Therapeutic Manipulation of a Young Offender', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, (October) 1951, **21**, 838-44. (Summary.)

In five boys, aged six to ten years, who had been persistent thieves since the

age of three, oral aggression and sexual confusion were the major determinants in psychopathology and treatment. One case is reported in detail.

S. GUREVITZ: 'Direct Analytic Therapy and Symbolical Fulfilment Reviewed as to their Applicability in Childhood Schizophrenia', *Quarterly Journal of Child Behavior*, (July) 1951, **111**, 276-88. (Twelve references.)

R. A. YOUNG *et al.*: 'Treatment Techniques in a Therapeutic Camp', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, (October) 1951, **21**, 819-26. (Four references.)

A preliminary report is presented of an intensive therapeutic programme carried out in a camp for emotionally disturbed children.

M. BACHET: 'Suite de l'observation du malade délinquant vingt fois récidiviste ayant subi une topectomie et ayant récidivé', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, (October) 1951, No. 3, p. 4. (Reprint.)

Topectomy was performed on a recidivist delinquent who from the age of five had epileptic crises and had committed numerous impulsive misdemeanours and thefts. His behaviour in the immediate post-operative period was violent. Later he was able to lead a normal professional life, in spite of abnormal sexual behaviour. He was reimprisoned for theft. His docile behaviour, with periods of catalepsy, gave way to increasingly violent behaviour towards warders and fellow prisoners, epileptic fits, and sexual misdemeanours, especially after he heard that his appeal for reduction of sentence had failed. In brief, his behaviour resembled that of the immediate post-operative period.

G. K. STÜRUP: 'The Treatment of Criminal Psychopaths in Herstedvester' [Denmark], *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1952, **251**, 31-8. (Five references.)

W. R. B.

C. C. PROTHERO: 'Dr. Davidson's Bell Enuresis Apparatus', *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1952, **45**, 391.

A case of successful use of this apparatus at Kingswood Training School is described. A number of other cases have also been treated successfully there and the apparatus is being tried out in several other Approved Schools.

T. GRYGIER.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

JOHN B. MAYS, B.A., is Warden of the University Settlement at Liverpool. He is also engaged in teaching at the Liverpool University School of Social Science and in research on juvenile problems in general. He is a graduate in English Literature and Language and was previously a full-time teacher and then youth leader.

LESLIE SOHN, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.M., Senior Registrar, The Cassel Hospital, Richmond. Formerly House Physician and House Surgeon, King Edward VIII Hospital, Durban, and Woodstock Hospital, Cape Town; Medical Officer, Fort Napier Mental Hospital, Pietermaritzburg (1945-7); Registrar, Maudsley Hospital, London (1947-50).

DAVID THOMSON MACLAY, M.D., D.P.M., Assistant Psychiatrist, Brentwood Mental Hospital and St. George's Mental Hospital, Hornchurch. Formerly Medical Missionary, Scottish Hospital, Tugela Ferry, Natal; Assistant Medical Officer, Towers Hospital, Leicester. Author of 'Experiences in Psychiatry and Surgery', *S. African med. J.*

OUT OF STEP

A study of young delinquent soldiers in wartime ; their offences, their background and their treatment under an Army experiment

by JOSEPH TRENAMAN

With a Foreword by General Sir Ronald Adam, Bt.,
G.C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E.

And a Preface by Professor Sir Cyril Burt.

"Out of Step does provide a better impression of Adult Criminality than any other book that I have come across."

Professor P. E. VERNON, London University.

21s.

METHUEN & CO. LTD. LONDON

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

(General Section)

Edited by D. W. HARDING

VOL. XLIII. PART 2.

May 1952

12s. 6d. net.

- P. L. BROADHURST, C. P. STONE and D. H. LAWRENCE. The effects of epanutin and electroconvulsive shock on the maze performance of rats.
- B. SEMEONOFF and A. J. LAIRD. The Vigotsky Test as a measure of intelligence.
- S. CROWN. The word connection list as a diagnostic test : norms and validation.
- I. M. L. HUNTER. An experimental investigation of the absolute and relative theories of transposition behaviour in children.
- E. BARSCHAK. Happiness and unhappiness in the childhood and adolescence of a group of women students : a comparative study between English and American girls.
- M. B. SHAPIRO. Some correlates of opinions on the bringing up of children.
- PUBLICATIONS RECENTLY RECEIVED.

The subscription price per volume, payable in advance, is 40s. net (post free).

Subscriptions may be sent to any bookseller or to the

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BENTLEY HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Edited by

M. GINSBERG

D. V. GLASS

T. H. MARSHALL

VOL. III, No. 2

CONTENTS

June 1952

- TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND HUMAN RELATIONS Georges Friedmann
A LETTER TO E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD L. Levy-Bruhl
THE RACIAL PHILOSOPHY OF JOHANN HERDER Cedric Dover
PRESTIGE OF OCCUPATIONS A. F. Davies
THE VIEWS OF ADOLESCENTS ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL
CLASS STRUCTURE H. T. Himmelweit, A. H. Halsey and A. N. Oppenheim
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN DENMARK Jean Floud
FULL EMPLOYMENT—A DISCUSSION OF SOME RECENT LITERATURE Julius Gould
BOOK REVIEWS
CURRENT NOTES

Published Quarterly, 30s. per annum, post free

ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL

Broadway House · 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E.C.4

ALL BOOKS advertised or mentioned in the *British Journal of Delinquency* may be obtained from the SALES DEPARTMENT of Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, Ltd. We can, in fact, obtain to order any book from any publisher in any part of the world.

The service we offer, not only to individual customers but also to Scientific Institutions and Libraries, is based on a hundred and twenty-five years' practical experience. All too often the supply of technical books and periodicals is made subject to haphazard arrangements, whereas in reality it is a highly skilled job, especially in these days of quotas, controls, and currency restrictions—and the members of our staff are specially trained to carry it out.

If you are in London, visit our showroom in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, where you can inspect our large and selected stock of medical and scientific books from all the leading British and American publishers. If you cannot call, a letter setting out your requirements or inquiries will have the same prompt and careful attention as you would receive in person.

SALES DEPARTMENT: BAILLIERE, TINDALL & COX LTD.

7 and 8 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

TELEPHONE: TEMPLE BAR 3386